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THE EVOLUTION OF EVOLUTION.

WE have had many treatises on evolution—the evolution of species, of the solar system, of the sidereal universe, of law, of art, of religious worship, of political organization, of systems of theology, etc., but as yet, so far as the present writer knows, no one has expressly considered "the evolution of evolution itself."

By this phrase we mean the origin, development, present state and probable future of that system of thought with which the teachings of such men as Herbert Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Karl Pearson and Professor Haeckel have made us all more or less famaliar.

The main characteristic of this system is its persistent endeavor to explain all higher energies in terms of lower activities, and so, while denying the possibility of creation without pre-existing material, to affirm the universal origin of all things, with all their powers, from others which avowedly have no such powers to bestow. A second not less noteworthy character is its neglect to seek for or acquire any solid intellectual ground for its own support; so that while it, in fact, bases every power of the universe on impotence, it derives all the highest faculties of the intellect from nescience, and practically proclaims Unreason Lord of the Universe!

Strange, that a system so essentially irrational should have been slowly built up through the efforts, or with the approval, of so many gifted minds, to replace another which once commanded the allegiance of the keenest intellects the world has known! That latter system possessed, indeed, the essential power to retain

ences which were then freshly budding forth, and rely much on seductive reasoning and great subtlety in verbal distinctions, as if the sphere of the *verbum mentale* could be substantially and greatly enlarged by playing cunning tricks with the *verbum oris.*

Centuries before, that wonderful man, Roger Bacon, had warned the philosophers of his day of their danger, and wisely counselled them to have recourse to experiments and useful observations of facts, instead of relying so largely upon mere processes of ratiocination. In the sixteenth century it was almost too late to arrest the philosophic decay. Fresh discoveries and strikingly novel observations were accumulating on all sides. A new world had been disclosed by Columbus, with races of men and wonderful civilizations, which had remained for centuries unknown, while birds, beasts and reptiles utterly foreign to anything before known were being again and again brought over to Europe. But another discovery was even more important in transforming the intellectual and moral condition of Western Europe. Through the fall of Constantinople men became acquainted with the literature of ancient Greece, and there arose a violent passion for it—a passion which diffused and revived Platonism and prepossessions hostile to the whole Christian system.

A flood of moral corruption deluged Italy and spread to France and Germany, while a contempt for the ideas of the men of the preceding generation—men who had known neither the Transatlantic nor the Hellenic worlds—whose philosophical system must, therefore, they thought, be as inapt and barbarous in its conceptions as the latinity whereby those conceptions were expressed.

Thus, by the combined effects of neglect on the part of professors of the "old learning," and of impatient intolerance on the part of those of the "new," the first breach was effected in the philosophic continuity of Christendom, and the ground became thereby prepared for the germination, or "evolution," of the seeds of that hypothesis of evolution which has culminated before our eyes.

The rich harvest which physical science at once began to yield (as it always yields) to its enthusiastic cultivators very soon enormously widened—as we before hinted—the gulf between the old and the new systems. Yet the students of physics were perfectly right and fully justified in adopting methods and seizing upon truths which had, up to that time, been too much neglected, and it was but natural that success should quickly and greatly augment their enthusiasm. But, unfortunately, while thus seizing upon truths which had been before neglected, they neglected truths—and most fundamental truths—which, up to that time, had been constantly recognized. Not that all, or even the most

conspicuous, devotees of "the new learning" were scientifically successful. Absurd, indeed, has been the admiration and praise bestowed upon that morally meanest of mankind, Bacon, and his "Novum Organum!" For, so little did he recognize or allow the claims of the intellect, and so absurdly servile was he in his mere quest of facts, that his efforts were as barren of results as those of any of the schoolmen upon whom he poured out his very foolish scorn.

The universal and objective validity of those primary and fundamental intuitions which can alone afford a logical foundation for even t e lowest physical science, being ignored or repudiated, the gates of human thought were thrown open to admit that long procession of ephemeral follies put forth by successive sophists from Descartes, Locke and Hume, though Kant, Hegel, Schilling and Hartmann, to the Spencers, Huxleys, Tyndalls and Herschels of our own day. Therewith the "evolution of evolution" has run its course and the "unreason" of men has enthusiastically proclaimed the supreme "unreason" of the universe.

That philosophical heresiarch Descartes, the *fons et origo* of the later follies of all the men above named, the great exemplar of all "topsyturveydom" and who based "intuition" on "ratiocination," at once aspired to a mechanical exploration of the universe. To him is due that supreme folly of our own day which teaches (as Professor Huxley has taught) that to let a man know his house is on fire is not the cause of that process of "running home" which he may thereupon set going! That well-meaning, puzzle-headed Englishman, Locke, by reducing all our sources of knowledge to "sensation" and "reflection," supplied everything that was necessary for the development of the "idealism" of Berkeley and his followers to the present day.

But "idealism" is only the other side of the shield of "materialism"; since for neither system is there any source of knowledge beyond "impressions" or "feelings"; and our "sensations" are represented as being "impressions" or "feelings" in their most vivid form.

Therefore beyond these we can (according to these systems) know nothing, and though the piety of Bishop Berkeley led him to regard the universe about him as a phantasmagoria played off by God upon his (Berkeley's) own mind, that acute mocker of his fellows, Hume, saw clearly that from such premises very different conclusions followed. He therefore amused himself, and gained the renown he greedily desired, by drawing forth those consequences and depicting them to the stupid amazement of his contemporaries who took him seriously. Hume saw, clearly enough, that if "impressions" or "feelings" are the ultimate source of all

knowledge and its only trustworthy elements, then not only is God an impossible object of knowledge, but no man can have any knowledge of himself—of the reality of his own existence.

Every "impression," every "feeling," is a single, individual subjective state which cannot tell us anything about the real state of our objective world—not even its existence. Still less possible is it for mere subjective "feelings" to tell us anything about "continuity," "succession," or "causation," or inform us either as to what, if anything, gives rise to "impressions" or what, if anything, experiences them. Yet, strange to say upon such a basis he gratified himself and proved the amazing gullibility of Carlyle's "fools" by pretending to construct a positive system upon two magic words—"association" and "custom." By "association" he signified the tendency of the individual to join together in imagination and expectation successive and simultaneous experiences. By "custom" he denotes a sort of solid or collective "association," by which masses of men came to acquire similar combined impressions and expectations.

Thus it was, he said, that our fleeting impressions are able to suggest to us a permanent and orderly world, and so (he taught) it comes about that our rapid stream of individual feeling, deludes us into a persuasion of our continued personal existence and that the complex impressions we denote by the terms "continuity," "succession" and "cause," have an existence in our consciousness.

It is really impossible to believe that a mind so acute as that of Hume, could have put forward such a system, save with "his tongue in his cheek"—"association" carried on by what cannot associate because it has no being, and "custom" experienced by a society which has no existence either as a whole or in its component elements—we having no more intuition of the existence of either than we have of the existence of God! Hume, in whatever corner of the universe he may now be, must surely enjoy—amongst other modes of motion—a self-complacent chuckle over Professor Huxley's little book about him and the solemnity with which his *jeux d'esprit* are seriously commended to the admiration and imitation of the professor's contemporaries.

But "association" has played a very important part in the evolution of evolution. That feelings, sense-experiences, emotions and ideas which have existed simultaneously or in succession do tend to become associated is, of course, an unquestionable fact, and the English sensists (culminating in John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer), have made use thereof to explain the genesis of our ideas from sensations and to attempt to show how human self-conscious intellect may have been evolved from the psychical

faculties of a lower animal. "*Nihil in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu*" is the motto of the whole school; and, taken in a certain sense, the dictum is good and true. For it is a necessary consequence of our combined bodily and mental constitution, that no idea can be present to our minds save by the aid of some mental image present to the imagination and we can imagine nothing of which we have not previously had some sensuous experience.

Hence the mistake made by those who think that no conception can be true unless it can be "mentally visualized" by us. This is, of course, really a great mistake, because it amounts to a denial of the distinctness of our ideas (such as those of "existence," "non-existence," "absolute being," "possible being," "truth," "necessity," etc.) from our feelings.

But though "feelings" and "mental images" are necessary antecedents and accompaniments of our ideas, they are so essentially distinct from the latter[1] that the dictum "*Nihil in intellectu quod nunquam fuerit in sensu*," is no less true than the former adage. These dicta are indeed complementary truths, the acceptance of both of which is necessary for a right understanding of human reason, which is intellect energizing in and subserved by a material, corporeal power.

Confusion between imagination and conception is one of the commonest of modern errors, and is one through which alone "the evolution of evolution" has been possible. A clear perception of the essential distinctness which exists between these two faculties is the first requisite for a sound psychology. But not only did this fatal confusion impair a due recognition of the claims of reason by men of the "impressionist" school, any such recognition was made impossible for them by their denial of (1) our powers of apprehending universal and necessary truths, (2) of knowing with certainty our own continuous, and (3) generally of apprehending all objective, existence;[2] it being assumed that human knowledge is rigidly confined to "sensations" and "sense-impresses," and is essentially "relative," and therefore necessarily divergent from the realities of things as they exist for any superhuman intelligence.

Even Kant, who sought to affirm against Hume the validity of pure reason, and by his categorical imperative seemed to assert, in the most forcible manner, the objectivity of ethics, really re-

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[1] It is impossible for us here to enter upon any exposition of these truths. We must be content to refer our readers to our work *On Truth*, pp. 111 and 112 and from 178 to 223.

[2] We have no space for any defence of these institutions here, but would refer our readers to the article entitled "Professing Themselves to be Wise, They Became Fools," in the A. C. Q. R. for April, 1891.

mained bound in the chains of subjectivism, since our highest and seemingly most certain perceptions were but the outcome of human, conditioning "forms of thought."

Sir William Hamilton was long regarded as a successful opponent of skeptical and sensuous philosophy, and yet his doctrine of "the relativity of knowledge" opened the door to yet more vigorous and successful assertions of evolutionary mental philosophy, a most complete exposition of which is to be found in the pages of Mr. Herbert Spencer.

The possibility of mental evolution (of intellect from sense) having been made first conceivable, then possible, and finally (in their own eyes) certain, by these successors of Locke, it only remained—in order that the modern doctrine of evolution should gain acceptance—to show that corporeal evolution might be accepted also.

The progress of biological science during the eighteenth century had prepared men's minds, by the new views it had opened up, for yet more startling suggestions. Buffon (1707–1788) was especially remarkable for the hypotheses he emitted about the origin of the earth, the nature of generation, and the relation between the animals of the old world and those of the new. Kant and Gœthe, as well as Buffon, put forth ideas respecting the transformation of species, while Lamarck, in the very beginning of this century, distinctly promulgated the doctrine of the origin of new species from pre-existing ones through the influence of surrounding circumstances. His views gained small acceptance, and then fell into utter discredit, yet of late they have obtained many adherents, especially in the United States.

But the really influential conception, the emission of which was to act as a spark on a mass of stored-up gunpowder, could never have been formed but for the excellent labors of successive naturalists, who little foresaw the future, startling outcome of their toils.

Thus it was Linnæus who, in 1735 and 1758, set forth the first practical system of biological classification, and originated a convenient system of nomenclature without which it would be very difficult to acquire, and quite impossible to retain in mind, a knowledge of any very numerous set of objects. The careful definitions of Buffon's collaborator, Daubenton, and the untiring industry of John Hunter, accumulated treasures of anatomical and physiological knowledge; but it was Cuvier, above all, who, by his indefatigable labors in investigating the structure of animals, living and extinct, prepared the necessary materials for the theory which was to come. Not less important was the circumstance that Werner, Hutton, and others had shown the earth's

crust to consist partly of stratified and partly of unstratified rocks, and that William Smith (the father of English geology) demonstrated the existence of definite and uniform relations between different strata and the fossils they respectively contained.

Subsequently, the labors of John Müller, in Germany, and Richard Owen, in England, were most fruitful of results, and by degrees it became known that:

1. Different geographical areas are inhabited by different organisms.

2. There is a relation and affinity between the past and present inhabitants of each such area.

3. There is a certain resemblance between fossil forms of more or less antiquity and some immature stages of existing living beings.

4. There is often more or less similitude between the earlier stages of existence of many living animals and the adult condition of other living animals belonging to lower forms of life.

Evidently, these facts favored the notion that the latest forms of life had grown out of preceding ones, and the view that new species of animals and plants had been produced through the operation of some obscure and hitherto undiscovered laws, became widely accepted amongst the most eminent naturalists. Such a view, for example, was not only maintained by the late Sir Richard Owen, but he declared that the discovery of such a law was possibly the chief end which the best anatomists and physiologists had in view.

Some theory of "Evolution" was thus evidently soon to be "evolved." But what theory? The theory of evolution which has become so widespread and popular, and forms a part of what Mr. Balfour calls "naturalism," advocates an "evolution" of one kind. But there is another, and a very different theory of evolution, which we are persuaded is destined to supplant the former, and we believe there are abundant signs that it is destined to do so at no distant day. The popular form of evolution is non-theistic; that which we believe will, rather sooner than later, supplant it is Theistic evolution.

Any rational theory of evolution must consider the world as a whole. It must, therefore, include man, and take into account his higher no less than his lower faculties. It must account for what we regard as our perception of necessary truth; our self-conscious knowledge of our own continuous existence, and our perceptions of truth and goodness—of right and wrong.

For all men who are convinced they have such higher faculties, any theory of evolution which ignores them must be absurd. That reason, as we know it in consciousness, is the outcome

of the mere play of physical forces, is a doctrine which has but to be stated to such men in order to be self-condemned. But to those who, as we have seen, ignore the essential characters of their own intellect, regard their ideas but as modifications of past sensations, and declare virtue to be but one form of pleasure; unreasoning evolution presents no such contradiction.

Without seeking to ascertain the reason why, we may be quite sure of the fact, that many men have greatly desired to be able to conceive of the universe as free from any Supreme Intelligence or All-powerful will. Rather than admit the evident existence of such, they would, if they could, have passionately repudiated all evidence of design in nature, and eagerly proclaimed Unreason to be Lord of the Universe.

But so to do, was long impossible. The evidences of design in nature were too plainly to be read in the facts of animal structure; in the accord between organization and function; and in the marvellous phenomena of instinct. That the activities of organic life could ever be explained (as Descartes had suggested) by the mere motions of a cunningly contrived mechanism, was beyond all belief. Kant held it to be absurd even to think that any naturalist would ever arise who should be capable of explaining so much as the growth of a blade of grass mehanically.

But at last the hour of the cosmic clock struck; the man appeared; and soon, Darwin's hypothesis of the origin of species by "natural selection" was promulgated. Thereby, the advocates of mechanism obtained full satisfaction; the difficulties which beset the adorers of the god "Unreason," seemed to be removed, for not only mental but also corporeal transformation appeared most simply explicable. Such transformism, in its most popular and pernicious sense, was welcomed; and the world witnessed a new mental birth, "the evolution of evolution."

A mechanical explanation of nature, for those who desired it, really seemed to have become possible. By "natural selection" the most wonderful adaptation of structure, and the most divergent peculiarities of organization could, it appeared, all be explained by the conservation in the struggle for life of minute fortuitous variations transmitted to offspring. The situation became thus completely changed; the idea of "design" or "purpose" seemed at once to have become superfluous, and Hæckel coined a special word (Dystele-ology) to denote a science of aimlessness in nature.

The new hypothesis struck the most dangerous blow at Theism which any living man has witnessed, and its success was great. For "natural selection" seemed to make all so easy and obvious; and it soon grew, therefore, to be as attractive to the

multitude as its deification of mechanism and chance caused it to be enthusiastically welcomed by anti-theistic philosophers.

As to how it is now welcomed, and what is the present position of the popular theory of evolution, we will say a few words later on, but before doing so we desire to call attention to one very notable instance of its rejection.

When Darwin and Wallace promulgated their theory of "natural selection," the greatest of English anatomists and natural philosophers, Sir Richard Owen, did not welcome it. He was a believer in what he called the "ordained becoming" of new species by appointed "secondary laws," and was an advocate of rational, that is, theistic evolution. He declared[1] that species change "by virtue of inherent tendencies" thereto, affirming that such a succession of species by continuously operating law is not a blind operation, but rather intimates "a preconceived progress," and that such evolution, proceeding "towards a foreseen goal," shows in its "broad features" the unmistakable impress of Divine volition. He passed away from us with his mind unchanged in his views as to evolution and it can now be said that the greatest English comparative anatomist of this century has, after a consideration of the hypothesis for more than the duration of an entire generation, continuously and finally rejected it. This we believe is the greatest fact of our venerable anatomist's whole life and teaching. For this firmness and consistency he had for a time to endure the ordeal of disesteem and contumely from not a few anti-theistic men of science. But, as has been the case in previous instances, that which his contemporaries least appreciated may, we believe will, hereafter largely add to his fame, if it does not even constitute his greatest glory.

The opposite state of mind is most clearly exemplified by the noteworthy European naturalists, Professors Weismann and Haeckel. Their dicta will enable our readers to understand what is the present state of the Darwinian theory and to what a degree of absurd dogmatism that theory of evolution has been evolved.

That there is a Providence which "shapes our ends," and that the universe is replete with purpose, are in the eyes of Professor Weismann errors so fundamental, that any asserted facts which imply them, are thereby, *ipso facto*, demonstrated not to be really facts, but fictions. That the cosmos is ruled by unreason seems to be an article *stantis val labentis ecclesiæ*. Therefore when he finds that the effective action of "natural selection" in the origin of species, not only cannot be proved but that there are facts which positively conflict with it, the consequence is that "it is so

[1] See his *Anatomy of Vertebrates*, vol. iii., p. 808 *et seq.*

much the worse for the facts." He tells us expressly that facts of this kind cannot really exist, since efficiency of "natural selection" is a truth demonstrated by a process of *reductio ad absurdum.*

Had we not absolute certainty thereof, we could not be sure that there is no design in the universe or deny the possibility that through the phenomena of nature "an increasing purpose runs."

He has said:[1] "It is really very difficult to comprehend the process of natural selection in its details; and to this day it is *impossible to demonstrate it in any one point.* . . . . We accept it not because we are able to demonstrate the process in detail . . . . but simply because we must, because it is the only possible explanation that we can conceive. . . . . It alone can explain the adaptation of organisms *without assuming the help of a principle of design* . . . . it is inconceivable that there could be yet another capable of explaining the adaptation of organisms without assuming the help of *a principle of design.*"

Professor Haeckel has recently delivered himself of what he calls a "confession of faith"[2] which is even more noteworthy. His dogmatism and self-conceit combined, have afforded us the most amusing piece of reading that we have enjoyed for a very long time.

The following passage is an example of his readiness to lay down the law absolutely and at once, about matters concerning which the ablest physicists profess themselves to be tentative inquirers. He says[3] with regard to evolution, "from primeval chaos to the present order of the cosmos."

"At the *outset* there is nothing in infinite space but mobile elastic ether and innumerable separate particles—the primitive atoms—scattered throughout it in the form of dust."

Those "primitive atoms" are no mysteries to him for he has evidently had them in his laboratory and overhauled them carefully.

Thus it is that he is able to describe them so fully to us[4] as being of a definite magnitude and spherical in shape. He has ascertained—no doubt by a series of careful experiments—that they are "inelastic," "impenetrable" and "indivisible," and, *mirabile dictu*, "inert." Yet in spite of this *inertia* they have a *tendency* to unite in small, definite groups, which groups upon careful examination, he found, turned out to be those "identical atoms" which so few physicists before Haeckel had been able to isolate, still less to build up. These chemical atoms showed, of course, their special

[1] See *Contemporary Review*, No. 333, September, 1893. Pp. 322–337. The italics are ours.

[2] *Monism as Connecting Religion and Science.* Translated by J. Gilchrist, London, 1894. [3] P. 33. [4] Pp. 26–27.

properties, and the Professor does not seem to have rested till he found out that these properties had a cause, that it was but one cause and what that one cause was. These atoms he declares to be "*solely* conditioned by the varying number and disposition of the similar primitive atoms of which they are composed." It is to be regretted that Professor Hæckel has not given any diagrams of the arrangement of these "primitive atoms" in, say, "an atom of carbon" or an "atom of oxygen."

Having thus penetrated into the most intimate constitution and surveyed the origin, from "*the outset*," of the inorganic world, we need not wonder that the mystery of the coming of life and of the first origin of organization and growth have been easily mastered by him. The history thereof he gives, somewhat too briefly, as follows:

"After the glowing sphere of the earth has cooled down to a certain degree, drops of fluid water precipitate themselves on the hardened crust of its surface—the first primary condition of organic life. Carbon atoms begin their *organism—engendering* activity, and unite with the other elements into plasma combinations *capable of growing*. One small plasma-group oversteps the limits of cohesion and individual growth; it falls asunder into two similar halves. With this movement *begin organic life* and its most distinctive function, heredity."

This appears to have been listened to with admiration by the meeting of naturalists at Altenburg to whom it was addressed. A profane person, however, has characterized it as one of the most barefaced efforts ever attempted to disguise hopeless ignorance by empty verbal combinations. But even such wonderful discoveries as the ultimate constitution of matter and the origin of life and organization by no means satisfy our professor, whose motto should certainly be "*Excelsior!*" "From this successfully scaled height of knowledge," he triumphantly exclaims,[1] "there open up before our joyously quickened spirit of research and discovery, new and surprising prospects, which promise to bring us still nearer to the solution of the one great riddle of the world."

Nothing remains hidden from the gaze of so physically inspired a prophet. Like a Neo-Platonist of Alexandria he has, while yet living, attained to a direct and immediate vision of the deity, manifested, however, in a somewhat peculiar shrine, namely, under the bell jar of an air pump? The light therein visible is a sort of Shekinah, for he tells[2] that in that "it is the vibrating ether we see," while the ether is nothing less than "God the creator, always in motion." We can regard it—the cosmic ether—(he proclaims)

[1] P. 25. [2] P. 24.

as all comprehending divinity, and upon this found the thesis, "Belief in God is reconcilable with science."

Let us now turn to briefly note the essential characteristics of the rational, theistic theory of evolution, and especially note the differences which exist between its conception of the inner nature and properties of the organic world and that of the Darwinian conception. According to the theistic conception of evolution it is the outcome and manifestation of powers, principles and laws impressed on the material universe in the first instant of its creation. If species change they change by virtue of inherent tendencies, their conception being the manifestation of a preconceived progress which takes place not blindly or by chance, but by continuously operating law towards a foreseen goal.

The Darwinian view, the view of "naturalism," is very different. According to it (and this is its greatest fault) no inherent tendencies, no innate laws, govern either individual development or the evolution of new species. All is due to the chance action of small congenital variations, each such variation being itself accidental, the whole beauty and order of organic life, though, of course, determined by invariable unconditional antecedents, being but the merest outcome of the merest chance."

If such is really the case, then living organisms offer indeed a singular contrast to non-living inorganic nature. There at least we perceive that every so-called element, every chemical compound, every crystal and every non-crystalline inorganic body has its own innate powers and properties, and is subject to specific laws from which it never deviates. Such bodies act in many ways on one another, but in every such action the reaction of the body acted on takes place strictly according to its own innate laws and endowments.

Among the most recent valuable works of science which controvert this system and give good evidence against it, is one by Mr. William Bateson.[1] He strongly supports that view which would forbid us to regard the world of living beings as any less governed by innate laws than is the inorganic world.

Granting, for argument's sake, that new species have arisen through variation, his work is devoted to examining the question whether such variations are indefinite and minute, so that if the whole series of them could be seen they would appear "continuous," or whether such a view of them would imply sudden and considerable changes—so that the variations would seem evidently "discontinuous."

This discontinuity may be as plainly and unmistakably mani-

[1] *Materials for the Study of Organic Organization*, London, 1894.

fested in the most minute structures as in all large ones, and Mr. Bateson's volume is principally occupied about cases of bodily symmetry whether normal or abnormal.

One minor form of symmetry is that which determines the patterns which may be formed, whether upon large surfaces of large organisms, or on the most minute structures. It certainly does appear to us that the evolution of many of these patterns constitutes a difficulty for naturalism which is none the less great because it has been so generally overlooked.

As to this Mr. Bateson says:[1]

"If any one will take into his hand some complex piece of living structure, a passion flower, a peacock's feather, a cockle-shell, or the like, and will ask himself how that came to be so, the part of the answer that he will find it hardest to give, is that which relates to the perfection of its pattern. And it is not only in these large and tangible structures that this question arises, for the same challenge is presented in the most minute and seemingly trifling details. In the skeleton of a diatom or of a radiolarian, the scale of a butterfly, the sculpture on a pollen-grain or an egg-shell, in the wreaths and stars of nuclear division, such patterns again and again recur, and again and again the question of their significance goes unanswered. There are many suggestions, some plausible enough, as to why the tail of a peacock is gaudy, why the coat of a pollen-grain should be rough, and so forth, but the significance of pattern is untouched by these. Nevertheless, repetitions arranged in pattern exist throughout organized nature, in creatures that move and in those that are fixed, in the great and in the small, in the seen and in the hidden, within and without, as a property or attribute of life, scarcely less universal than the function of respiration or metabolism itself."

One of the most obvious characters presented by our body, and by the bodies of all the animals most familiar to us, is that each has a right and a left side, and that these two sides, and their parts, correspond, as our right hand proverbially resembles our left one. When deeply considered, this fact is by itself sufficient to prove that the body of an animal has its own innate laws which regulate its development, for this kind of correspondence—technically called "*bilateral symmetry*"—shows itself not only in these familiar conditions, but in the results of disease, and in very peculiar structures found in exceptional animals of special kinds. Indeed, on the hypothesis that a blood-relationship of descent binds together different animals, nature actually forces upon us the perception that new and more intense forms of bilateral symmetry have arisen in comparatively recent geological time.

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[1] P. 21.

Thus naturalists now generally agree that birds have descended from reptiles, but the very diverse bilateral symmetry which exists between the two wings of birds for the one part, and between their two legs on the other part, is far more striking than any which is to be found in their hypothetical progenitors.

Mr. Bateson supplies us with numerous instances of similar and simultaneous bilateral variations.

Another form of symmetry is known as "*serial symmetry*." Such symmetry is most plainly seen in the successively similar segments and pairs of limbs in the centipede and its allies, but it is also to be traced in the structure of the human chest, with its successive ribs, and the series of bones (called vertebræ), which comprise our spinal column, or backbone, and in the resemblances which can be traced between the arm and the leg, and between the hand and the foot.

Mr. Bateson in his third chapter[1] gives many examples of sudden variation in parts which are serially symmetrical.

In man and beasts the bones (vertebræ) which exist in the neck are normally seven; and this is so whether the neck is enormously elongated, as in the giraffe, or exceptionally short, as in the whale or mole. The only exceptions to this rule are the manatee, which has but six, and the sloth, in which there may be as few as six, or as many as ten cervical vertebræ. In the human subject the last bone of the neck, which normally is entirely devoid of movable ribs, sometimes possesses them. Fifty-seven such cases are cited by Mr. Bateson, and it is interesting to note that in forty-two of these instances the ribs were present on both sides.

Variations are sometimes found in the number of vertebræ existing in successive regions of the spinal column, there being sometimes, for example, thirteen instead of twelve in the chest; four, five or six in the lumbar region, etc. To ascertain the exact correspondence between bones which thus differ in different individuals and species, has been a curious subject of inquiry among naturalists. Similarly, there are singular divergences, with occasional individual variations, in the number of bones which make up the wrist or ankle of different animals, and much ingenuity has been expended in trying to determine what are the precise correspondences in different cases of this kind. Mr. Bateson (we think with much reason), regards this quest, in the way it is often pursued, as but a vain one. Though nature's methods are simple, he urges, yet her simplicity is not ours. We are too apt in this matter to run into anthropomorphism, and allow ourselves to "fancy that nature has produced the forms of life from each other in the ways which we should have used if we had been asked to do it. If a man were

[1] Pp. 102–128.

asked to make a wax model of the skeleton of one animal from a wax model of the skeleton of another, he would, perhaps, set about it by making small additions to and subtractions from its several parts; but the natural process differs in one great essential from this, for in nature the body of one individual has never been the body of its parent, and is not formed by a plastic operation from it; but the new body is made again new from the beginning, just as if the model had gone back into a melting pot before the wax model was begun.

The author just cited also describes a multitude of instances of discontinuous variations in animals of the most varied and diverse classes. These variations have been detected in both external and internal bodily structures of the most varied kinds. They relate to variations of dentition, to the number and situation of mammary glands, to peculiarities of arterial distribution and modifications in the ducts of important glands—such as the kidneys, to the eyes of insects and shell-fish, to insects' wings, the bones of ruminants, and especially in peculiarities of the digits (fingers and toes) of many animals.

The facts described by Mr. Bateson seem to us sufficient to prove the very frequent occurrence of discontinuous variation. To the consequent probability that new species have been evolved by the help of such, it has been objected, notably by Dr. A. R. Wallace, that his ample catalogue is a catalogue of monstrosities. Every one, as has been urged, knew that monstrosities from time to time occurred, but a new species—necessarily a symmetrical and well-organized form—could never have owed its origin to a mere monstrosity, such as a cat with two heads, a beast with superfluous or deficient digits, with half, or with double, the number of its proper supply of teeth, etc.

This criticism, however, is both unfair and exceedingly shallow. It is unfair because true as it is that we all know of the occurrence of monstrosities, very few of us know of the great frequency and enormous numbers of such variations as those Mr. Bateson notices. Besides this, any candid peruser of the book criticized must see that its author is perfectly well aware of the monstrous character of many of the varieties described by him, and has no intention of presenting such forms as the probable, or even possible, origin of new species. It is still further unfair, because a certain number of the variations described are perfectly harmonious and symmetrical changes, and can no more be said to be "monstrosities" than a tiger can be said to be a "monster" because it has not the mane of a lion, or a lion a "monster" because it has not the stripes of a tiger.

The hostile criticism is also very shallow; for what, after all, is

the real nature of many of the variations recorded by Mr. Bateson which may be said to be "monstrosities?" They are orderly and perfect structures *in themselves*, and by that very fact show that the organic world is *not* that inert mass of matter devoid of innate law Darwinism supposes, but is orderly in even its very aberrations from normal type. Mr. Bateson, among such instances, describes and figures a variation which has been observed in a saw-fly, in which the end of an antenna had taken on the form of a perfectly well-formed foot; also a beetle, of the genus *Carabus*, in which one limb was replaced by a pair of legs, each of which was perfect and normal in the details of its structure, with a number of other similar instances. In all these cases the details of the structures are orderly and quite different from the indefinite, fortuitous phenomena which we should expect to find in changes produced by external influences on bodies not capable of self-regulation by internal laws.

But among the mass of instances described there are some which are altogether harmonious and symmetrical discontinuous variations.

Yet, did we know of one case which was truly and unmistakably of that kind, that alone would suffice to make it probable that if new species arise by variation at all, such discontinuous variation is the kind of variation which has been efficient in their production.

One change of the kind, is that which occasionally so affects the feathers of birds, such, *e.g.*, as the moorhen, as to make them resemble the plumage of the apteryx and the cassowary. Such a variation amongst poultry produces the forms known as the "silky-fowls," sometimes called "emeu-fowls," which are capable of perpetuation by breeding.

The long-haired varieties of goats, cats, and rabbits, are familiar enough; but it is less generally known that a similar variation exists in what are called "Peruvian guinea-pigs." Mr. Bateson mentions the capture of a common mouse with long black, silk-like hair, which, he adds, is specially "interesting, as showing that such a total variation may occur as a definite phenomenon without selection."

On the other hand, varieties have occurred which were entirely naked, but had a wrinkled condition of skin, and they produced young which were similar to their parents.

Now, in south Africa two creatures belonging to the same natural order as the mouse, are of about the size of a mouse, and have a burrowing habit. They are normally and naturally naked, with a wrinkled skin. If new species have arisen by variation, why should not these African animals have arisen by a sudden

discontinuous variation, such as that, we know, may occur in the case of the common mouse?

Groups of plants are often characterized by having the parts which make up the flower in fives, or fours, or threes, as the case may be.

The tulips belong to a group having the parts or organs of its flower in multiples of three. Mr. Bateson gives an interesting example of a tulip having all the parts of its flower in fours. This variation, as he says, "is a large and decided one; but, it is more than this; it is not only large, it is *complete*. The resulting form possesses the character of division into four no less completely and perfectly than its parent possessed the character of division into three. The change from three to four is thus perfected: from the form with perfect division into three is sprung a form of perfect division into four. This is a case of a *total* or *perfect* variation." Obviously, the perfection and symmetry of this remarkable tulip could have been in no way due to "natural selection." Why, then, should the tulips with their parts in three have owed that condition to "natural selection?"

One of the most curious parts of animal structure is the difference which exists between the build of all the American apes on the one hand, and those of the old world on the other. One of these differences is that between the number of bicuspid molars —grinding teeth—which have milk predecessors. In man, and all monkeys of the old world, there are only two on either side of each jaw, but in all the monkeys of the new world there are three such.

Mr. Bateson describes and figures the skull of an American spider monkey, in which there are four such teeth on each side of the upper jaw. All these are equally well formed, so that it is impossible to say that any one of them is supernumerary rather than another. Thus, it is demonstrated that a new and perfect form of dentition—an emphatically discontinuous variation—may suddenly arise.

Another most striking divergence of structure is that which exists between beasts (such as oxen, goats, deer, llamas, swine, and the hippopotamus), in which the number of toes used in locomotion is even—two or four—and those of other beasts (such as horses, asses, tapirs, and rhinoceroses), in which the number is odd—one or three.

In the even-toed group, the line of symmetry passes down in the middle between the two toes, while in the odd-toed group it passes down along the middle of the single toe (horse and ass) or along the middle of the middle toe of three (tapir and rhinoceros).

But a very exceptional variation is noted by Mr. Bateson. It

is that found in the foot of a horse, in which, instead of a single digit there are two perfectly complete ones each bearing a hoof, while the line of symmetry tapers down *between them.*

Altogether the phenomena recorded in Mr. Bateson's book seem to us amply sufficient, by themselves alone, to deal a death blow to the otherwise absurd and childish theory that species owe their origin to a process of "natural selection."

But though natural selection is the crown and culmination of the "naturalistic"—non-theistic theory of evolution, we think it desirable to also say a few words respecting Mr. Darwin's ancillary theory of "sexual selection."

According to that notion all the special characteristics of the male sex in each species—all that to us seems beautiful, bizarre or revolting (strength and nimbleness apart)—have been evolved by means of the constantly recurring exercise of the female, of her power of choice, amongst contending suitors determined by æsthetic considerations only.

How largely mere fancy may color not only the readings but the very observations of some persons appears to us to be remarkably well shown by an account given by a Mr. and Mrs. Peckham, of their observations respecting "sexual selection in spiders."

They describe the male as courting the female by dancing, during which he displayed to her his attractive first pair of legs, of a delicate green fringed with white, in various odd positions. The effect was remarkable, for we are told she "eyed him intently," appearing much "interested in his performance" and finally encouraged him by "gazing in a softer mood"; surely these spider's "sheep's eyes" are very noteworthy.

Yet his apparent success could not free him from all anxiety, as she would sometimes "make a sudden dash at him," a process which (seeing that the female is always larger and more powerful than her wooer), had a suspicious flavor of cannibalism about it. Indeed the female spider, "*Etiam in amoribus sæva,*" is but too apt to bite and suck dry even her accepted spouse. Surely a very remarkable "post-nuptial" settlement.

We find it simply impossible to believe that the brilliant local coloration which certain old-world apes possess could have been due to æsthetic sentiments on the part of female apes and baboons, when we call to mind what are their psychical characteristics and what the physical powers of their would-be spouses.

To produce such effects, the females of each species must have a taste in color as different as constant, while a multitude of remarkable or brilliant phenomena of color are found in parts which can never meet the eye during life.

One of the oddest of the many odd notions set afloat was that promulgated by Mr. Darwin himself—the notion, namely, that it has been feminine influence which has by degrees, as century succeeded century, gradually denuded our backs of the hair with which it was at first so copiously clothed. Now it is evident that the primitive ladies of the Kalmuck and Persian nationalities differed widely in their sentiments as regards the beard; but nevertheless (if the theory is true), the females of every tribe and nation of mankind—in spite of the frequent mutations of fashion—must have unanimously and persistently agreed in abhorring hirsute shoulders, and this though their immediate pithecoid ancestors entertained a directly opposite sentiment.

But the absurdity of "sexual selection" is now generally recognized and that of "natural selection" as the cause[1] of the origin of species, is being recognized more and more widely. The work of Mr. Bateson and another one by Mr. Frank E. Beddard, F.R.S.,[2] are strong indications that the tide is turning as regards non-theistic evolution, that it has culminated and the process of descent begun. Great has been the part played in the evolution of evolution by the cell-theory—a theory of great value when not pushed to the length it has been. Mr. C. O. Whitman of the United States now deliberately maintains and with very solid arguments, "the inadequacy of the whole cell-theory" and has shown (as we long ago affirmed), that the difference between organisms formed of one cell and others formed of many cells, has been enormously exaggerated.

The popular Darwinian doctrines that the coloration of animals is due (1) to their resemblance to their environment, or (2) to their resemblance to some other animal dreaded on account of its dangerous properties, or (3) its nauseous taste, are all carefully considered and satisfactorily disposed of by Mr. Beddard.

But a belief in non-theistic evolution can never be satisfactorily banished by physical science alone. To effect that, it is necessary to revive and disseminate far and wide some philosophical conceptions, especially their bearing upon the question as to the origin of species.

Considerable or small gaps between the various kinds of living creatures are manifest on all sides. The existing creation is plainly discontinuous. The facts as to continuity and discontinuity of variations, of successive forms of life and of surrounding conditions, are matters which demand most careful investiga-

[1] Of course, natural selection must exist and act. If twins are born and one of them happens to be devoid of brain, the other must alone survive—*i.e.*, naturally selected.

[2] *Animal Coloration*, London, 1892.

tion; and investigations of the kind, such as have here been noticed, demand our gratitude.

But what hope is there of any student of nature arriving at the truth as to the continuity or discontinuity of specific origins, if he has not a clear comprehension of the great facts of discontinuity which are, on all sides, open to his mental gaze?

There is, in the first place, the chasm which exists between everything which lives and all that is devoid of life. Granting that the universe may have been so formed that on the occurrence of the preordained conditions life, previously created *in potentia*, should suddenly manifest itself "in act," that does not in the least invalidate the deep significance of the fact that for all our experience no life arises save from what already lives.

Secondly, there is the chasm between everything which feels and all that is devoid of sensation. Every one must admit that this chasm exists—every one who is not prepared to affirm that his paper and his pen feel each other.

Far greater, however, is the chasm which exists between every being capable of self-consciousness and a knowledge (however imperfect) of truth, goodness, and beauty, and every being devoid of self-conscious life.

The advocacy of these great truths is, at last, beginning to be patiently listened to, which is no small gain; and a rational physical kind of agnosticism will ere long take the place of that system which professes to understand science, but to have no knowledge of truths without which all science is absolutely, logically impossible.

The true nature of the organic world, the innate properties of what we call "elements," and the diverse qualities of the substances resulting from their union, alike defy explanation by a non-theistic theory of evolution.

The origin of life, the first thrill of sensation, and the dawn of conscious intelligence, as well as the first perception of good and evil, not only remain as inscrutable as ever, but the many recent attempts made to obtain an explanation of them have only served to bring out more conspicuously their profound inscrutability. The ultimate constitution of matter, the origin and nature of vitality, feeling, and consciousness, as well as the intimate processes of life, growth, and reproduction, all these causes of the origin of species will, we believe, persistently remain quite inexplicable, though science will ever be fruitfully employed in elucidating more and more the means and processes of vital activity and organic change. The mystery of instinct, in spite of all the efforts of Darwin and his disciples, remains absolutely insoluble, and, instead of being capable of explanation by any other organic ac-

tions, vital activities—such as those of growth, repair of injuries, reproduction of lost parts, the development of the embryo, and new kinds of animal life—are rather to be regarded as essentially belonging to its own category.

The repair of its broken net by the spider, the instinctive casting off by a crab of a mutilated limb just at that point whence its renovation can take place, the arrangement by an insect of conditions suitable not for its own life but for the welfare of a progeny it will never see—each and all belong fundamentally to the same group of activities as do processes of organic repair and embryonic development. He who can fully understand instinct would (as we pointed out in the pages of this REVIEW in the year 1881) possess a key capable of unlocking all the mysteries of organic nature.

We may now in conclusion briefly state, by way of resumé, what we deem the essential facts of the "evolution of evolution," what was the origin, development of that hypothesis, what is its present state, and what we deem will be its fate in a more or less distant future.

"Evolution" as popularly understood, the evolution of "naturalism," of Spencer and of Darwin—the non-theistic system of evolution—was born in original sin, since its very name is a fraud, nay, rather a robbery! Its name gives the lie to its own conception, while it truly harmonizes with its very contradictory, namely, that system of theistic evolution to which we are confident it will sooner or later give place. For no process of "evolution" is possible unless there has been an antecedent process of "involution." The development of a germ, of a banyan tree from a seed; of a whole from a minute ovum; of a complex political organization from mere tribal customs; of all the arts from their veriest rudiments, and of the perfected "love" of God from initial tremors of his "fear"; can one and all be readily accepted as credible and reasonable because in each and every case the ultimate outcome existed *in potentia* from the first.

But what thirst can be quenched from an empty cup? What nourishment for mankind is to be raised from a field into which no seed has been ever cast?

The irrationality of its very name presided over its birth and origin, since it was begotten by junction of a system which did not even aspire to anything beyond sensation and imagination, with another absolutely suicidal, since it rejected that rational foundation upon which alone every logical system must be based.

But though here, as at the outset of this article, we lament the destruction of scholasticism and the advent of the sensationalism of Locke and the follies of Bacon and Descartes, we should be

very sorry to be taken for a mere reactionary, whether in science, politics or religion. All attempts at restorations have invariably been failures, and as we have thus every reason to deem them impossible, we may well also believe that they are contrary to God's will.

Yet, although scholasticism can never be revived, its essential truths may be successfully advocated after having been assimilated by the modern mind and reproduced in modes possible for modern acceptance, as the Constitution of the United States enshrines the political principles maintained by St. Thomas Aquinas.

As we have depicted, the decay of pure philosophy coinciding with the rise of merely physical science, prepared the way for the theory of non-theistic evolution, and rendered its conception, birth and nutrition possible.

Culminating with the advent of Darwinism, it has now reigned over the modern scientific world—not without noteworthy protests—for a full generation.

Its present state, however, is one of incipient decay. It is honeycombed with doubts and difficulties, and the number of those who recognize that our ethical intentions alone are, as we long ago pointed out,[1] absolutely fatal to it, is ever on the increase. But fresh discoveries in embryology, the repeated cutting down of phylogenetic trees, new views (such as those we have referred to) about the nature of cells and cell-structure are continually giving rise to conceptions which, from the Darwinian point of view, are heresies, though the heretics may be (and, as yet, generally are) the adherents of the non-rational theory of evolution.

But physiological progress is notably forming a fresh soil suitable for the growth of very different philosophical views from those which belong to "Naturalism." Notably, a new vitalism has been evolved by the recognition of the essential peculiarity of the activities of living organisms, for which mere physics and chemistry have been shown as utterly unable to account. Similarly, it is becoming more and more obvious and undeniable that a living creature is a unity—a unity of force no less than of bodily form. The existence of some immaterial principle of individuation in each animal and plant is more and more plainly indicated, and thus the truth of Aristotle's doctrine on the subject (which we believe will never be bettered) is becoming more probable and more fully justified.

But these various influences—various in themselves, but alike hostile to naturalism—will be far surpassed in their efforts when, by slow degrees, the fundamental truths of philosophy—alike the

[1] See "A Limit to Evolution," *Nineteenth Century* for 1894. Reprinted in our "Essays and Criticisms." Osgood, McIlvaine & Co.

prolegomena of all science and of all religion—have forced their way into the active, enterprising minds of a younger generation. Then the non-theistic theory of "evolution" (absurdly named evolution) will, by degrees, give place to a true, logical system of evolution which will justify the name it bears.

According to that system, the whole universe was created by a Being the prototype of all wisdom, all virtue and all beauty, who bestowed on it the power to evolve, by His ever-present sustentation and concurrence, whatever He had involved within it at the first moment of its creation, and had thus truly Himself created *in potentia.* Thus all is order and harmony in the organic as well as in the inorganic world—life, feeling, thought, society, ethics, politics, art and science successively appearing with no less spontaneity than the various senses, instincts and habits of living but non-rational nature. To the knowledge which is merely direct and immediate succeeds knowledge which is more and more reflective, self-conscious and deliberate, till, under and through Divine interposition—no less omnipotent because imperceptible—the highest activities of which human nature is capable are attained. Since the universe, as being essentially one, could never have been submitted to the action of any sort of natural selection, its power and properties must have been due to the creative will of God, and the results of their action (the perverse results of man's free-will excepted) must have been likewise preordained. Our knowledge is his gift, and our most important knowledge is that of our true relationship to Him, and thus what is at once the most important agent, as well as the highest end, of evolution, as rationally understood, is and must be, that which reveals to us our duties and our privileges—namely, religion. ST. GEORGE MIVART.

ROME AND ITS RECENT RUINS.

THE eternal city, long famous for its classical ruins, now runs the risk of finding a place in a less noble category of famous names. If it does not actually become a ruined city—and who would expect Rome in its eternal splendor ever to be ruined? —still it is threatened with the vulgar fate of presenting a partial spectacle of modern ruins. Within the last twenty-five years there has been scattered over it a pretty conspicuous layer of this latest article of manufacture, the wreck and ruin of modern enterprise. The syndicate of speculators who took the fortunes of the city in hand a while ago, first calling themselves "United Italy," then knocking down a part of the walls with a few shells, and finally riding in on a kind of wooden horse called a "plebiscite," have accomplished so much in their peculiar line that they are just going to celebrate the jubilee of their twenty-fifth year at a thriving trade; and the exhibition of ruins already prepared will throw the celebration into quite a becoming relief. It is not the first time a power of this kind, of money and speculation, has lorded it through the streets of Rome. It was said of the vile Didius Julianus, who once bought the empire at auction:

> Didius, vile usurer, through the crowd he mounts,
> Beneath his feet the Roman eagle cowers,
> And the red arrows fill his grasp uncouth.

But then the Roman empire was pagan; and Didius was not a Jew. Now he is.

Some of the ruins we speak of are such in the ordinary sense of the word. They are ghastly broken-down piles of houses, which fell down while the speculators were raising them. They are the unsightly masses of tenement houses, which were intended to look like modern palaces, but which incontinently found their proper place as tenements, more or less occupied. Fortunately, both of these classes of typical modern adornment settled in quarters of their own, either amid the unoccupied portions of the ancient hills, or in the Vatican meadows, where their foundations went down with the Pope's excommunication upon them—and the buildings followed their foundations. They too went down. In fact, morally speaking, they never went up. They are an economical and social waste.

Another kind of modern ruin is less distinguishable in its outlines. One is just on the point of collapsing—this government, which

no speculators, however wild, would invest their capital in for a day, which foreign creditors are suing for the interest on their loans, and which the nation seems to be eluding by emigrating to America. It has committed many errors, poor thing! and the deputies and senators and ministers, and particularly the ex-ministers, are all saying so. Still, we must admit, little as we love it, that no one ever charges it with a single error committed from that point of view, whence "United Italy" commanded the situation. United Italy had in view just what we see in process of execution; and part of that is an accomplished fact. It meant to fill its pockets, transact business, and make hay while the spring sun shone. The patriots came, of course, to make Rome the centre and home of a redeemed nation. But they have taken care not to make it their own home. The Piedmontese comes to Parliament, and is off again; and the Sicilian comes and is off; and the Neapolitan comes and goes again. His love for United Italy is not of a kind to invite his staying in the new centre of Italy; it rather invites him to stay at home, till the crash comes. And then he will be found to be the identical Italian who, in the Middle Ages, fought at Sienna with Florence, and at Genoa with Venice, and at Naples with Sicily or the world generally. He will be able to do so again: and do it better than govern Italy from Rome.

There is another order of ruins, much more serious in their kind. It is the steady undermining of social and religious life, of all the laws of propriety and morality, through the usual machinery and propagandism of education, the press, the theatre. The profession of these speculators was to build up, to adorn, to embank, to purify and to drain. They have embanked the Tiber with marble, and they have engineered the drainage out of the city limits. And probably both were profitable transactions. But these feats were nothing compared with the embankment they have raised and the moat they have dug round the new kingdom of Italy, under the form of a military system, which, we make bold to say, cannot compare in cleanliness with the mud walls of old Britain, or the refuse heaps of prehistoric Denmark. The military system includes the barrack life of all the youth of Italy, the enforced absence of religious influences, the contagion of the worst morals, and the absolute waste of the best years in men's lives, for all purposes of serious study, of art and agriculture. If, as some one has recently said of France, one man in every ten has a vocation to the ecclesiastical or religious life, it is a miracle if one vocation out of ten comes safe through such an ordeal of corruption. And it is a further marvel then, if one in every ten of the small residue will be blessed with the means and facilities after-

wards for developing and bearing fruit, and yielding one priest or religious out of a hundred vocations.

I.

This is what we mean by recent ruins. A more distinct view may be taken of them if we look at them *in situ*, as the archæologists say; that is to say, in their own place. This does not mean, it is their natural place; but only that we find them here. It is thus that broken pottery or crunched bones are said to be found *in situ;* though the place where they are found may be very respectable indeed. And so recent ruins are found in Rome. They lie too amid other ruins of a very different stamp:

> The tomb of empire! ruins that efface
> Whate'er of finish'd, modern pomp can boast.

Those are the ancient ruins, dating from an aurora of civilization which ushered in the Christian day; ruins left by a power which fought all the battles till the Prince of Peace should come; ruins of a structure which, when completed, was then slowly dismantled that the Vicar of Christ might mount into the place prepared for him. The place so prepared was Rome, the eternal city, Christian and Papal. It stands upon the tomb of an empire; nor does the sprinkling of modern ashes on it at present shake its patience or impair its peace.

There is an inside view that can be taken of Rome, and an outside one also. We look at it inside when we take our stand in the sanctuary; or in the school and library, which first found their place, so to speak, in the sacristy; or in the asylum and hospital which rested against the walls of the sanctuary.

The outside view comes before the interior, and we will take that first. Nowhere is this more singular than in Rome. Nowhere does the external grandeur seem to be less in proportion to the interior than in the outer covering of the concentrated splendor and riches which eighteen centuries of Christian devotion and enlightenment have accumulated here. And the inside too has an exterior to it, which is different from the soul and the life, from the spirituality and the divine conception, that have overflowed into the marble and the mosaic, that have swelled into the outline and glowed into color; and which palpitates to the Christian sense, itself throbbing with the thoughts and feelings expressed in these monuments, ten, twelve, fifteen centuries ago.

Now the eye of a child or of a savage may look long and intently, and yet see no more than colors, nor deeper than shapes. The conceptions it fails to see. Perspective is not discerned; the parts are not correlated; the whole is but a surface of many

things, bright, colored, varied, big. And the eye wearied wanders away to something else. This is one manner, quite external, of viewing even the interior of Rome. It is the view most commonly taken. The way of doing it is reduced to a system; so that such as follow the *régime* of the system cannot well do anything else.

You may see on any day, and almost at any hour, tourists and streams of them, running hither and thither with their guide-books in hand, adjusting the sight of what is before them to the paragraph and line of their manual; and then off to another spot and another page. We do not speak of pilgrims but of tourists. Soon they will have done it all; they will be off from Rome; and they will have seen nothing or less. And, actually, among the things they will have been directed to admire, are the post-office and the treasury, for which in all honesty they need not have left Washington or London, or Paris or Berlin. Of that kind of thing there are better sights elsewhere; and better too, for not having been convents profaned, which were turned into bureaus and barracks and stables.

The guide-book of this class of admiring humanity, who are made thus to see so little after they have come so far, is generally the product of a German artist, who, an adept in his legitimate profession, furnishes the clue to every particular through the labyrinth of antiquity and religion and Papal power and Italian unity. But his profession does not include the qualification of being a Christian. And it is not singular that all the true life and personality of Rome should be a dead blank to his eye and intelligence, when Christianity did nothing more in Rome than form "an interesting community," as he calls it; and when the Christian history with which it teems is nothing but "legends," and "only traditions," and miracles more or less "preposterous." And so he betrays as much satisfaction in conducting the traveller blindfolded through the life of the sanctuaries, as in opening his eyes wide to Methodist, Baptist and Episcopalian Churches, and to a system of so-called asylums, hospitals and monuments, which have the merit of overflowing, almost like works of art, with the vitality of their inside meaning. Everything that redeeming Italy has done in Rome has the merit of expressing this meaning; it reeks with the vice of its origin and purpose. Infidel Germany catches the refrain promptly, responsive to liberal Italy—two members of a triple alliance, worthy of one another. The third member, the hapless tourist, might have lighted on better company.

It is not so that the Christian eye is couched to behold even what is merely external in the city of Rome. To it there is appa-

rent that tranquil character of exalted religion, of a repose which is worthy of thoughts that are eternal. The most recent monuments, only three or four centuries old, awaken thoughts in his mind worthy of the massive grandeur which the religious sentiment has thus assumed; while the more ancient shrines and churches open a vista of retrospective history, bewildering in its depth of nearly two thousand years. And these two thousand years are set in a background of seven hundred farther on, where the broken outlines of old pagan Rome are distinctly seen, as those of a powerful genius hired to prepare the ground for eternal Rome to begin.

All down this lapse of time, while powerful nations have been flitting into existence and out again, what a history is read—a single one; and, we might say, the history of only one! It is that of the Vicar of Christ, amid the perishable elements of matter and men. The names that are inscribed in his scroll are many. They are written on façades and on fountains, on obelisks and bridges. Many are the names among those of two hundred and fifty Popes, which appear all over the seven hills, the site of imperial Rome, or off the hills, the site of Papal Rome. They are over the gates which admit the pilgrims; they are on altars, before which he prays; they are on sepulchres where popes were laid, or in catacombs, which witnessed the shedding of their blood. Everywhere the life of the Papacy is written in the stones of Rome, telling of thirteen nations that have been represented in the Chair of Peter, of thirty-five martyrdoms, of forty expulsions from the city of the Holy See, and of more than two hundred and fifty vacancies, which called for a new successor to the throne of Christendom. Rome glories in all these names, except in one place. That is upon the throne itself. There is only one name there—Peter's. The names of all the rest have been in benediction, only because they continued his office, and kept for a while in his place the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

II.

Under the feet of Papal Rome lies its predecessor. In its most characteristic portions, imperial Rome is buried twelve feet below the level of busy thoroughfares; in some places it was buried twenty and even forty feet deep. In parts it has been unearthed by the enterprise of recent Sovereign Pontiffs; in other parts it has yet to be uncovered. The presence of what remained of it was a large factor in shaping the location of the Papal city. Such a mass of ruins on the seven hills drove mediæval Rome down to the old Campus Martius. The stones, as if they were those of quarries, went into the walls of palaces and churches. The mar-

bles formed the stairways of houses and the washing-tables of laundries. The sarcophagi of senators served excellently as vats and troughs; and we need not think they were degraded by doing so. The remains which cover the Campagna, like a vast circumference of broken rocks, "rent palaces, crushed columns, rifled moles," have received an honor they never deserved, and one denied to the ruins of any other city in the world; they are there, and history is read in them; they are gloated on by the generations which come and go; and all this, because Papal Rome is here, and has enshrined them, and has made them a part of her associations and of her life.

And, there is no doubt of it, but the first Rome and the second, the Rome of the ancient republic and empire and the Rome of the Papacy and Christendom, formed in many respects but one current of history. One dominant character of both has been that of dominion over all, permeating all. The one gathered the scattered elements of the peninsula, and then a large portion of the world, into a political unit. The other has gathered the nations into one Christendom and united them in the Kingdom of God. The former shot out its aggressive forces, pushed, swayed, thrust itself onwards; and, when it had made this country its own, it still pushed and drove outwards over the surface of the globe; and, after arriving at a stage of open decay, it still pushed and drove; and it stopped driving its trade only when it died. The other has been very much like the former. It has shed its light and sent abroad its couriers of peace; it has spent its blood and life, never exhausted, however expensive might be the conquest of the world to Christ; and, still aggressive in its teaching of the nations, it looks forward self-possessed to the consummation of the world as the termination of its own career.

Again they agree. The former Rome bound down without destroying local or national life; its force lay in respecting the organism of nature, while imposing the bonds of an artificial empire. The latter Rome has done more, without any artificial element in her empire, except the culture and civilization which she freely donated. She has simply entered into the life of peoples and leavened them. She has formed them as nations. And, if there came from them those who would live with her at home, she has been so facile and reverential towards them, that nowhere under the sun has such a union of customs, habits, languages, rites, ever been seen, as at all times in this city. Under the shadow of the Vatican are the *borghi* or *scholæ* of the Saxons (the English), of the Frisians, the Longobards and the Franks. Under the Capitol is the *schola* of the Greeks. In the Trastevere, on the other side of the Tiber from the Capitol, is the quarter of the Jews, where

St. Peter began his ministry; and later on a quarter was assigned them, the Ghetto on the opposite bank, even till our own time. Besides all this, there is the extensive Strangers' Quarter, which still belongs to them, especially to English people and Americans, under the Pincian Hill and around the Piazza di Spagna.

But, in another respect, the two Romes do not agree. Like a thing of earth the former went to earth; and for the class of beings to which it belonged there is never a resurrection. The other of a diviner mould, though in earthly form, living a life from above, though cast in the conditions of time, requires only the freedom and independence of action, guaranteed by nature to all children of men; and for the rest it proceeds on principles which are not of this world. The independence and freedom of the Papacy means liberty to move among the freely flowing elements of political existence all round about; it means temporal independence, which for a ruler, for a supreme authority in the world, means territorial independence, otherwise called temporal sovereignty. This is a privilege which, in our days of liberty and equality as much as at any time before, the commonest herd of freebooters think they have a right to claim for themselves—be it in the Sandwich Islands or in Cuba. Exacting only this condition for dealing with Christendom and the world, the Papacy at Rome puts forth its powers, as ever before, evangelizing and civilizing the world.

Now let us take an inside view of Rome.

III.

Why so many Churches here? One hears the question asked. And one may also hear the wise counsel added: schools or hospitals would do better, in place of such a superfluity. Here a double judgment is conveyed; one, that is there no sufficient reason for such an exhibition of Catholic faith and devotion, as Rome exhibits to the Christian world; another, that there is sufficient reason for attending more to education and charity.

Both of these judgments deserve to be credited to that ready wisdom conspicuous in some travellers, who seem to read the whole life of a city or nation from the window of a railway carriage, who deliver themselves promptly of their sentiment lest it should spoil if they kept it for second thoughts, and who pass on quickly to Egypt, Berlin, Paris, home, for fear if they stayed longer, they might possibly learn more. It is thus that the action of Catholics in not taking part in political life, and of the Holy Father in forbidding them to do so, is all taken in at a glance, sometimes from a distance of many thousand miles; and is promptly retailed in the journals, or in more respectable places. In fact, it is on this kind of political observation that most politi-

cal liberalism is based, at least on the continent of Europe. It is easiest to pick up, and cheapest to rehearse.

With respect to charity and beneficence in Papal Rome, there are so many currents, circulating in so many institutions, that the ordinary Commercial Directory, which does not profess to treat of this department in Roman life, makes the following general observation :

" Conservatories, institutes, hospices and refuges. The *opere pie* or institutions of beneficence, amount in number to 341 in Rome with an annual revenue of about 5,000,000 lire, without taking account of the Confraternities (which aim chiefly at a religious object and are for purposes of mutual benefit). These Confraternities by themselves amount to over a hundred, with a revenue of over a million lire a year. The principal hospices, conservatories and refuges (the list of which we subjoin) have in general the following purposes in view: Help for the poor classes and those which are less well provided for, as well in sickness as in health; assistance, education and reform, both moral and religious; literary instruction, and training for any profession, art or trade. These institutions are run on the revenues coming from the capital of their own foundations; a small portion on private charity. They are directed and administered partly by municipal commissions, and partly by ecclesiastics or private persons."

After this general summary, the directory gives a list of fifty-eight principal institutes of beneficence. Among these, only four betray themselves by their names as belonging to the present *régime*, since redeemed Italy came to redeem Rome. We may presume that no more than four of this class are to be found in Rome, or they would certainly be here, among the " principal " charities. One of the four is the " Gould Memorial Home; which has for its object the religious education (?) and instruction of boys in typesetting, etc , and of girls in sewing, etc. Mrs. E. Edwards, directress and administrator."

As so many of the Roman charities are for the young of all conditions, they must also be considered as educational institutions. Of schools properly so called, it would be a rash attempt on the part of a stranger to attempt to classify them, though they are but the relics of numberless houses, which have been duly emptied of their religious communities by these foreigners who walked into Rome, twenty-five years ago. Still more hopeless would it be to summarize, over and above all that we have mentioned, the hospitals, properly so called, the infant asylums, the dormitories, the vast system of eleemosynary institutions called in general the *Monte di Pietà* of Rome, the orphan asylums, the departments of the Congregation of Charity, and so forth—all coming from the funds

of Papal Rome, with its capital of Christian charity amassing itself in the course of ages.

The judgments of men have been quite characteristic of our times, with regard to all this vast organization of the Christian Church. Men are hard to please; and sometimes Christian men. Under Pius IX. it was said that there was a superfluity of schools in Rome and in his States; and we know how, at the same time, this is precisely the part of the world which is a specimen of "illiteracy and ignorance," according to the statistics of many people. It has always been a commonplace, in apparently respectable history, that monasteries make the people poor, by feeding on them; and at the same time the same kind of history puts it down that monasteries make the people idle by feeding them. The fact is, that the primal instinct of all this liberalism looks upon all this money and land as locked up too exclusively in charity, religion and Christian enlightenment; and it would like to get at some of it. Its common sense dictates that to get salaries out of it would suit itself better. And, when the common brutality is then brought to its door, of leaving the poor and the sick and the orphan destitute of their patrimony, liberalism idolizes the paternalism of the State, to be exercised by means of taxation. Now it requires not much, even of a fund of common sense, to know that the whole policy of modern taxation means getting others to pay, and escaping one's self. And the louder one talks of such "even-handed" taxation, the more humanitarian and patriotic he is. Such is the humanitarianism and charitable patriotism which has supplanted the civilization of Christendom. We have a signal instance of it here in Rome.

When these foreigners broke down the wall at the Porta Pia they knew they were walking into a harvest. Their experience in every part of Italy previously had made them quite expert in the art of reaping it. And, if the extraordinary wealth of administration which lay before them at all embarrassed their consciousness for a moment, the parallel experience of governments like unto themselves, in France, Spain, Portugal since the latter part of the eighteenth century, must have served to reassure their shrinking modesty.

Two great strokes of statesmanship demonstrated at once the extent of their native ability and the high degree of liberal education which they carried with them on the backs of their horses on riding into Rome. They declared all religious orders and congregations to be non-existent before the law, and to the goods of these non-entities they, "the nation," succeeded, *ab intestato*. For the goods were without an owner. Here was a splendid fund of revenues clamoring for their patronage. They could not decline

the appeal. And such a wealth of real estate in the shape of convents, from which helpless religious women were driven out; of monasteries, where the poor need apply no more; of colleges, which foreign governments were not in a position to protect, devolved upon the new paternal government, that there is not a mule in the government employ to-day which does not seem to have the choice of a dozen monasteries for its lodging, and, perhaps, a dozen or two of convent-chapels. And, even so, there is embarrassment. Hence these foreigners have thought of converting this real estate into a more useful kind of wealth. They have offered to *sell* it back to its owners.

The other stroke of statesmanship was called "conversion." The religious being non-existent and their goods quite safe, there remained, inconveniently enough, all the funds of ecclesiastical and charitable property, with the owners, or, at least, the administrators, still in existence. Hence these goods were not yet safe. The new statesmen were promptly equal to the emergency. They "converted" the goods—that is to say, they turned everything into a common heap for their bureaus to administer, with a high right of dominion over all, if not with the immediate handling and *improving* of the funds. In this manner all the incomes of churches, all the resources for the support of canons, ecclesiastics, dignitaries, cardinals, and even the Pope, all the property on which the physical conditions of existence depended, both for the maintenance of ecclesiastical life in Rome and for the government of the Church universal, went to constitute a fund very sacred, for which these foreigners hold themselves strictly responsible, and responsible to themselves alone. When the government becomes bankrupt, then, of course, they will be discharged from their sacred trust; they will not be responsible even to themselves; and the stage of "conversion" will have passed on duly and sweetly into the finality of non-existence or annihilation.

IV.

From the account we have given of the resources provided for charity and beneficence in Rome it is clear that, if there are many churches, it is not because there are few hospitals or schools. Hence the question remains just as it presented itself at first—why are there so many churches?

We imagine that the correct answer is: So far are they from being too many that there might be more. The same conditions which brought these into existence might add to them; and new conditions are actually doing so.

We may count over 310 public churches here. Yet, when the new quarters were added recently, occupied chiefly by govern-

ment employees, Piedmontese, Sicilians, etc., parish churches had to be provided in their midst. And, if the monumental Church of St. Joachim had not been commenced promptly in the quarter of the Vatican meadows, it is said that the capital of Catholicity would have seen a Protestant—a Baptist—meeting-house taking precedence of the Pope under his own windows.

But, apart from such new circumstances, the same conditions which gave rise to so many, in times gone by, might add more at any time. Thus it is generally well known that a new monumental church to St. Patrick is being presented as a worthy object of zeal and national devotion to the liberality of the children of St. Patrick, who are scattered all over the world. And why should not any new Religious Order or Congregation provide itself with a sanctuary of its own there, where its central government, its principal monastery or college, is situated under the eyes of the Holy Father? And, besides all this, we may take note of the important fact that churches in Rome are very much what your statues are in Paris or Washington, in London or New York. There you may see men on horseback and men on foot. In two parks of New York there are statues of Mazzini and Garibaldi; in London a monument was erected to perpetuate in stone a lie against the reputation of Catholics; Paris bristles with marble memorials of its men of blood; it will not take long for Germany to be covered all over with similar eruptions in honor of a man of iron, who is still living. Why should not Rome, in the course of those sixteen centuries during which it has been the capital of a Christian world, have swelled forth into a great classic monument, all of it, indeed, to the glory of Him who gave His heroes and heroines to illuminate the Church of God, but at the same time, piece by piece, to the honor of each of those saints who are the sole glory and delight of humanity upon earth? These excite no unsavory recollections, nor those associations of every kind of moral foulness, with which the brief lives of so many mundane worthies have gone down reeking into the bowels of the earth. These are the lilies and the flowers and the fruits of God's grace and wisdom among the children of men; and, since their lives were too short, though their work was eternal, Rome may well immortalize them with an expression of human art, as like to themselves as possible—sanctuaries to the living God, beautitul and imperishable. Here it is that those lamps of architecture, which Ruskin so well describes, may be seen in all their brightness—the spirit of religion, of sacrifice, of faith, and of truth, of beauty and of strength.

Unable to trace in a paragraph the world of meaning which it takes years to read in the monuments themselves, we may content

ourselves with looking at them from only one point of view. We may look at them under this precise aspect, that they make of the eternal city a kind of gallery of monumental glory to the great ones of earth and heaven; and that they do so precisely on the ground, on these hills, in those hollows, around and in each forum, and by the side of every classic way, where earth had raised the most stupendous worship ever paid to the spirits of evil—in that "habitation of devils," as St. John described the great Babylon, in that "guard-house of every unclean spirit," in that pagan Rome, which, as it was the mistress and centre of a fallen world, so was likewise the organization and deification of every kind of sin that the world could think of and try to enjoy. "The great Babylon is fallen, is fallen!" And precisely there, where it fell, Christian Rome was found standing, to point the moral of the past, while it transformed the nation into the glories of the future.

But, not to miss any part of the lesson taken in even by so rapid a glance, we should have our eyes open to a phenomenon of the present, and notice the reflection of old heathen Rome, then happily buried, on the face of the spirit of evil still unhappily alive here in our days. In a certain kind of history, it is old Rome that presents the ideal of civilization, while the papacy and Christianity were a misfortune, a disaster. All that Christianity did was to aggrandize the Popes and bring misery and degradation upon the world. If art survived at all, it was by an accident of some kind; and what did survive, alas! went into churches! Let us quote a passage, a popular presentation of the German historical wisdom of our day. It is printed for the special benefit of travellers who visit the Eternal City:

"The transformation of heathen into Christian Rome was accompanied by the gradual development of the papacy as the supreme ecclesiastical power in the west. Leo the Great (A.D. 440–461), and Gregory the Great (590–604), may be regarded as the chief originators of this scheme of aggrandizement. These prelates and their successors were indefatigable in their efforts to realize their project, and under their auspices, notwithstanding the poverty and misery into which Rome had sunk, new churches and monasteries were constantly springing up among the ruins of antiquity; and the last feeble spark of artistic taste which still survived was devoted to the decoration of these buildings," etc.[1]

This sounds like a genuine passage from the most approved historical wisdom of infidel Germany. It deserves an offset; and suggests its form. We might give it thus:

The transformation, back again, of Christian into heathen society,

[1] Baedeker's *Central Italy; History of the City of Rome*, p. 33.

at the close of the nineteenth century, is accompanied by the development of dogmatic ignorance as the supreme intellectual power in various parts of Europe. The centuriators of Magdeburg, who carried on the work of the Reformation into the realm of history, may be regarded as the chief originators of this scheme of intellectual darkness. These reformed historians and their descendants are indefatigable in their efforts to realize their project, and bring darkness out of light. Under their auspices, notwithstanding the wealth of historical lore and archives open to their inspection, new theories of dogmatism and darkness are constantly springing up to spread over the history of the past. And the last feeble spark of classic literature or taste which still survives is devoted to the ornamentation of these lucubrations, etc.

So, turning our backs on this cloud of ignorance, we may enjoy a more unobstructed view of the lights and glories of papal Rome. We shall address ourselves to only a few of them.

V.

The history of Christian Rome in its monuments, from the beginning of our era up to the end of the third century, is sufficiently described in one word, which we take from the *Fasti* or Records of the sacred city: "A.D. 302, the Christians for the tenth time put to torture and to death by order of Diocletian Augustus. The temples of the Immortal God levelled to the ground. The volumes of sacred letters consigned to the flames." It was just four years after this, when fire and sword had already visited whatever was to be found above ground or under ground, that the first charter of citizenship in the Roman world was given by Constantine to the God of the world.

Up to that time the history of religion and charity, of instruction and purity, has to be gathered chiefly from sand-pits five stories deep. Here the innocent and the holy ones of earth slipped in for their devotions and their burials, to be fed with the Divine Word, and to live on the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar. And so the victims were ever kept dressed and fillet-crowned for the day of their sacrifice. And, when that moment came, God, who never leaves Himself without a testimony to His existence, honored Himself with the most signal testimony to His mercy. He flashed on the eyes of a brutal and vicious population the light of such a divine presence in the innocence, purity and grace of His martyrs, that the response of a hardened conscience was slowly elicited in their butchers, and the admiration of the natural human soul, however reluctantly, was gradually won. Indeed, if in our own times of moral and religious disaster, any one is led to inquire how it comes that the first to suffer in the goods of hearth

and home, and in the greater goods of reputation and the means to exercise their charity and mercy among men, are precisely the pure and the holy ones, souls consecrated to God, or souls out in the world most faithful to their Christian profession, he may observe that the same law is being exactly applied. The one means which was adequate for establishing the Church in the world is being employed for restoring her. That is to say, sacrifice—not of the vile, the corrupt, whose savor is not sweet, but of the choicest souls, the beautiful ones, whose company the angels court. And thus, when these Jews and Freemasons turn out of house and home hundreds and hundreds of holy communities, and treat cloistered virgins as outlaws in the name of modern enlightenment, God is defeating His enemies by their own blows; He is accepting of personal sacrifice from the children of His love, and, when His own good time comes, He will give what has been so faithfully paid for.

The parish church of the parish priest and bishop of Rome stands on the Cœlian Hill as the first great monument of papal Rome. The Lateran Palace, which belonged to the Emperor, was formed into the residence of the head of a new empire, with his Church beside it. To the right and left, on the central columns of the portico, the basilica has this magnificent inscription, teeming with meaning and with a mystery of Divine Providence in each of its four words: *Omnium Ecclesiarum Mater et Căput*, "Mother and head of all the Churches." The baptistery of St. John was raised in imperial splendor aside of it. And now a new art commenced in the world.

Where the sacred remains of apostles and of martyrs lay, where their blood had been shed, where their power was felt, and the devotion of a reviving world poured itself forth as the human heart will always give utterance to its admiration and worship, there the glory of the friends of God was celebrated in stones and in shrines, in painting and mosaics, in gifts countless and inestimable. There rose St. Peter's on the Vatican hill, St. Paul's outside the walls, the churches of St. Laurence and St. Agnes outside of the Esquiline and Viminal gates. Those of St. Valentine and St. Callistus were also placed outside, while Liberius erected on the Esquiline hill the magnificent basilica of St. Mary Major, the largest of the eighty churches dedicated in Rome to the honor of the Blessed Virgin. St. Laurence was honored by St. Damasus at the theatre of Pompey, and also on the Ardeatine way. The former church was thenceforth called St. Laurence in Damaso. Similar monuments were erected to Sts. Gervase and Protase in the Vallis Quirini; to St. Sabina on the Aventine; Sts. Laurence and Lucina by the Via Lata, now the Corso; St. Stephen on the

Latin way; St. Cornelius on the Appian way; St. Stephen on the Cœlian hill; St. Bibiana and St. Andrew on the Esquiline; St. Peter's on the Tiburtine way; Sts. Silvester and Martin on the Esquiline; St. Agatha and also St. Pancratius on the Aurelian way; Sts. Cosmas and Damian in the forum; Sts. Philip and James. The Pope, St. Gregory the Great, began a career worthy of his future pontificate by abdicating the prefecture of the city, and establishing a monastery in his own house, where he himself professed the monastic life. Then, as Pope, he dedicated St. Agatha's in Suburra, and restored and adorned the temples in all directions. Under Honorius we have St. Apollinaris on the Vatican; the Four Crowned on the Cœlian; Lucy at the Suburra; Hadrian, where the forum Romanum connects with the forum of Cæsar and that of Nerva; Anastasius *ad aquas Salvias;* Cyriacus on the Ostian way. So, running on towards the eighth century, we need only mention, further, St. Paul's and St. Bibiana's; St. Sebastian's; St. George's, in the *forum boarium;* St. Petronilla on the Vatican; St. Stephen's and St. Silvester's; St. Peter's and St. Paul's, on the Sacra Via.

These are only some of the landmarks placed between the beginning of the fourth and the commencement of the ninth century—a length of time greater than the entire duration of modern nations like Russia and Prussia, and about twice as long as that of civilized history on the continent of North America. Yet it was but the introduction to papal history in the world. It may be observed that, as the Romans of old erected sacred stones to mark off boundaries and to consecrate territories to their own holy genius of proprietorship, so had the spirit of Christianity marked off every one of the seven hills, with the Vatican and Janiculum besides. It had consecrated the fora of the Emperors, the Sacred Way, and every one of the other ways—the Lavican, Ostian, Appian, Nomentan, Aurelian, Latin, which had trembled under the tread of the Roman legions, had vibrated to the rattle of the carriages of the great, and which still stood lined with the ostentatious tombs of pagan mourning and glory decayed.

Later on, when the barbarians had exhausted all their fury on the Rome of the seven hills, and mediæval nobles were carrying on the work of destruction in new forms, those seven hills, where palaces, thermæ, and theatres had gloried in all the splendors described by St. John in the Apocalypse, came to be covered with vineyards and gardens even till our own time, and nought but those monuments of Christian devotion stood erect in the civic waste. Papal Rome had extended down into the old Campus Martius, and over to the Vatican across the Tiber.

The dreary period of mediæval history did not pass without new

embellishments and new monuments for the gallery of Christian heroism and sanctity. However, it is a uniform experience that, when religion and piety fall to a lower level, the burning lamps of sacrifice and beauty and truth, which are fed by the unction of the spirit within, decline and fade proportionately. In every line of achievement, monuments become scarce—in stone, in religious genius, in life and the pouring forth of blood for the service of God in religious institutes of self-consecration. On the other hand, given an access of the vital spirit, we witness a spectacle like that which animated all Europe in the later Middle Ages. Gothic cathedrals of inimitable structure covered the soil, foundations for every conceivable kind of charity, religious institutes for every possible form of zeal, and such an intensity of Christian piety in the general body of the faithful, that it seemed as if the whole world were running into the life of higher mysticism. What wonder that votive offerings should multiply, from the widow's mite to the prince's domain, in churches, monasteries, hospices for the traveller and hospitals for the suffering, institutions of every kind under the shadow of the Cross! And the law laid down by Urban, pope and martyr, under whom Cæcilia of blessed memory illuminated the Church with her charity and sanctity, held as a first principle, sanctioned by every natural and divine right: "The goods of the faithful, which are offered to the Lord, must not be converted to any other use than the service of the Church, or of Christian brethren, or of the poor, because they are the vows of the faithful and the redemption of sin and the patrimony of the poor."

And so in Rome, when the long absence of the popes and the great schism were followed by a revival of Catholic life, Martin V. set about the restoration of the decaying edifices; the cardinals vied with one another in renewing their titular churches; Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., and Julius II. adorned the papal city with monuments either new or restored.

Under Gregory XIII., at the close of the sixteenth century, we may notice the inauguration of the last stage of sacred architecture, with regard both to style and purpose. As to style, the Gesu furnished a type for succeeding generations. As to purpose, though the collegiate system was already old in Rome, Gregory XIII. not only founded a college for the Greeks, but added the Church of St. Athanasius, and with the English College he dedicated the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Following in his footsteps soon afterwards, Cardinal Ludovisi laid the foundations of the vast sacred edifice for the use of the Roman College, the Church of St. Ignatius.

VI.

We have sketched sufficiently for our purpose the interior life

of Rome, as immortalized in the sanctuary. There remain its manifestations in the way of charity and of culture; that is to say, in the asylum, hospital, or other forms of beneficence, and in the school or library.

But the summary which we gave above, from a very unprejudiced quarter, of the vast organization which the spirit of beneficence has established in Rome, must stand in place of further development. A large portion of it was due to the charity of foreign princes, nations, confraternities. For no Christians have ever considered Rome as foreign to themselves. And, if there remains at the present moment a very considerable portion of that former organization "unconverted" into the funds which the governing cabal have transferred into their coffers, it is only because other nations or governments, Catholic and non-Catholic, have interposed and bidden the speculators to keep their hands off. At all times the needs of suffering or indigent humanity have come first and last to the door of the popes, from the time of Leo I. to the time of Leo XIII. Gregory the Great, who, as a secular, founded seven monasteries, could tell the Princess Theoctista, when he was pope, how he was supporting, in time of distress, 3000 nuns, who had not wherewith to protect themselves "from the piercing cold" of the winter nights; and he told the Empress Constantina how the Church of Rome, while expending so much on clerics, monasteries, the poor, the people, and on the Lombards themselves (ferocious barbarians as they were), was moreover weighed down by the affliction of all the churches. This, of course, was in times of exceptional distress. In general, the monasteries and convents were themselves the support of the poor and needy, who have always found refreshment there, where poverty was practiced for the sake and love of Christ.

As to schools and culture generally, were it not that Rome is so much besides, it might simply be called a university city for the multitude of its collegiate institutions. Our tastes would lead us to speak of education, and trace its course under the shadow of the Mother Church of Christendom. But our circumstances invite us, rather, to say a word upon the treasured-up sources of learning, due exclusively to the sustained energy of the Popes. One part of these constitutes the library, the richest in choice manuscripts of all the libraries in the world, and worthy of its place amid the 11,000 apartments of the most imposing palace, as well as of its location under the shadow of the greatest Church in Christendom. Another part is made up of the Archives of the Holy See, the vastest source, under every aspect of historical lore, for every part of the world. Many departments of the Archives are distributed among the Sacred Congregations, which

have superintended, during three centuries, specific parts of the Church's administration. The Archives of the Vatican, specifically so called, are those which remained treasured up in a house by themselves, ensconced between the two arms that divide the Court of the Belvedere, leaning, so to speak, against the Library of manuscripts above, and communicating with the new Leonine Library of Consultation close by.

These Archives may be described briefly as the collection of Papal documents, registers of Papal acts, letters of the Popes, and correspondence in general. The following summary of the Vatican Archives will give a clearer idea of their contents. There are 6600 tomes of Registers of the Roman Pontiffs, from Innocent III., A.D. 1198, to Clement VIII., A. D. 1603. Of Registers of Supplications, etc., from Clement VI., 1342, to Gregory XVI., 1846, there are 7700 tomes. There is a series of Registers of Briefs from Martin V., 1417, to Clement X., 1676. The documents pertaining to the Council of Trent amount to 140 volumes. 172 contain the correspondence of divers statesmen; pertaining to the Secretary of State, 7000 volumes; to Nunciatures and Legations, 6000; of Letters from Cardinals, 158; from Bishops and Prelates, 231; from Princes, 210; from private individuals, 223; from soldiers, 179; and of the *miscellanea* belonging to the Secretary of State, 250 volumes. Add to these the diplomatic correspondence of the time of Clement VIII., Leo X. and Paul V., in what are called the Borghese Archives, about 2100 volumes. This mass of some 30,000 folio volumes constitutes the section of Papal Archives, which is housed in the Court of the Belvedere. It was opened by Leo. XIII. to historical research. A hall to accommodate some sixty or seventy students was fitted up just under the Library of Manuscripts, and custodians and porters are in attendance during the morning hours of consultation.

The contents of these folios are like a great sea of the currents of history; they are fixed there, congealed, for the perpetual contemplation of the centuries that come. We read, just as the writers narrated them, the changes, dangers, evils, progress of Christendom in every nation under the sun and in the voices of every class of society. The voices come from scenes of peace or centres of disturbance. Wars, negotiations, intrigues, claims, complaints, national interests, public and family and private ills, all seem to find in the Papacy a proper ear wherein to pour their confession, to claim redress, to ask for assistance. Official, unofficial, autocratic, democratic, ecclesiastical and secular, the voices, the tones, the hand are those of the great social, religious and political world, spread abroad and struggling, dashing in living confusion around the rock of Peter. Nor are the minutest interests

of Rome, or of any town in the Papal States, left unrepresented; here a bridge to be built, there a flood to be arrested, a rampart to be restored, a hospital to be erected. Communes, ancients, gonfalonieri, governors are heard conferring with the Secretary of the Holy Father. At certain epochs, when the pestilence is raging in some parts of the world, the letters are black and now crumbling to dust, from the disinfectants which seem to have been sprinkled over them. The handwriting varies from the imperfect signature of the blind old physician, who had served in the Netherlands the Nuncio now become Pope, and who congratulates him on his elevation, to the perfect engrossment of the official secretary—so perfect sometimes in its art of technicalities that the eye must first make out the kind of alphabet before it can decipher a sentence. Some classes of correspondence luxuriate in ciphers, and where the interpretation or the key is not added, the ciphers must be left to triumph in their luxuriant growth. The inexperienced hand of the contemplative nun in her cloister, the general writing on the eve of a battle or on the morrow, the scratch of distinguished and imperial personages signing their dictated missives, or, worse than that, writing the whole letter themselves; princes, beggars, scientists, poets, architects, especially the dignitaries and officials of the Church universal—it is all an ocean of human life, as irregular in its outlines as life itself is, and as multitudinous in its currents as the sea. Yet it represents the unit of human society, and with all its capricious variety, its irregularities and turbulence, it betrays everywhere a fixed boundary in form and level—like the restless waters of the ocean, which only oscillate even when they seem wildest, and when they break beyond their bounds also break their swelling waves. Thus far, and no farther!

And it might appear, that all this finds its exact counterpart in the great personality to whom the voice of this multitude is addressed. Verily, it is a personality, that of the Popes of Rome, all representing one, Peter, and Peter representing Christ. The Pope, too, is heard speaking, just as he is spoken to. The endorsement on the back of the letter, the scribbled pencil-mark, indicates the answer which the practical wisdom of the moment dictated; and the species of reply, as given, as delayed, as ordered not to be given, are as varied as keys in music. Whole collections consist of original minutes, with the changes made, the insertions, or simply with a line drawn through, erasing the whole. Others consist of the formal letters actually sent.

But what, perhaps, is most striking, is the personal identity of that See, which, receiving a new incumbent on the average every seven years, and showing forth in the long line the utmost diver-

sity of private interests, nevertheless, amid these alternations of personal dispositions in the Popes, of their antecedents and their tastes, of their family and national ties, diffuses one steady light through them all, stamps on them an identical official character, and maintains the same influence over men. It is the visible expression of one Providence applied to humanity through men; it is the revelation of a "Spirit one and manifold," to exercise a divine ascendancy over us in a human way; it is the exercise of a government far mightier than the greatest of these aged priests could ever have aspired to in the exercise of his merely natural intellect or resolute will, to control the treacherous issue of battles, to gather up the little, the poor and forsaken, to direct the stream of Christian enlightenment and civilization, of conversion and sanctification; in short, to develop God's omnipotent mercies over the destinies of the human race.

VII.

These reflections serve to fix one element in the question with which we began. Amid the recent ruins that are scattered over the Rome of the Popes, and over the Italian people also, the place, position, and power of one person who is interested, are as fixed and certain as the expression of a law—the divine law which gave him his commission. This fact is more striking than ever now, when everything else seems to be adrift. When all other institutions, from human sovereignty on its throne to the moral and natural law originally fixed in the hearts of men, seem to have lost their anchorage, this one power, at least, is found riding at its moorings. When every political ascendancy, that has ever been, has gone down in its turn, and those that are, at present, seem bent on proving that they can go down faster than any before, the one force of the Papacy is seen staying the rest and swaying them; not pushing, like pagan Rome, by force of arms, nor laying too much stress on diplomacy, or liberality of sentiment, or humanitarian views; nor again, upon that natural equipoising of forces, which, whenever humanity is disturbed, somehow brings it back to a state of equilibrium again. Such means may be adequate for settling merely natural problems. But, when the struggles that agitate the world contain elements that are not natural; when the issue of the conflict between powers is one that looks to eternity; there is the place for that force of the Papacy, which is its intrinsic charter of divine grace. In virtue of this it has, heretofore, quickened into life inert masses of tribes and nations. When they died, it has remained to shine on other masses, equally inert, sometimes more noxious. Its ascendancy is not changed to-day.

One event has occurred to disturb the Bishop of Rome in his

own city, and in the world. It has not been the exercise of any right on the part of any one. No one pretends that. It has simply been the accomplishment of a fact. His States have been taken away; his city has been occupied. This fact, which any thief or highway robber can accomplish, is the only right which the Revolution sets forth. It is the application of a principle which has been agitating Europe during more than a century. It is called the sacredness of the "accomplished fact." Beat down the walls of a city with cannon, occupy it. Thenceforth, it is "intangible," as Rome is proclaimed to be. The bandits speak as if, like bull-dogs, they would let all their quarters be hacked to pieces before they will loosen the grip of their teeth. There, precisely, lies the sacred tenacity of the "accomplished fact." Still, like true bandits, these people are not bull-dogs. They only sneak on the unprotected.

Though the fact is very simple, as much so as any burglary, several grave features give it an ominous air at present. One is, that in the entire course of Christian history, this is the first epoch in which any such fact has been held up as constituting a juridical right. And the new code of civilization to which such a portent belongs is being adopted widely. We have seen it applied, or at least urged, in countries far off from Italy, within the last few years.

Another feature is more grave. It is, that no such absurdity as public robbery constituting public right could possibly have recommended itself, nor have pretended to stand a single day, nor even have been set afloat on its way toward accomplishment, if there were not a current broad enough and deep enough to float it. This current is what is called "public opinion," issuing from the sources of false doctrines or corrupt morals, or, as was chiefly the case in Italy, from a deluded imagination, which was captivated some forty years ago by the phantom of a great, united, "redeemed" nation. The phantom was conjured up in the Masonic lodges. The only reality, which it was intended to mask, is now in the hands and pockets of the lodges.

A third feature is the most serious of all. The longer this fact remains in possession, the duller becomes the public sense to the enormities of public dishonesty. And, the slower things are in righting themselves and purifying their consequences, the wider becomes the pestilence resulting from the contagion. *Contagio uti pestilentia*, said Sallust. The sequel of consequences is unfolding a tail prodigious, not only for its venom—*in cauda venenum*—but for its amplitude, like that which St. John described: "And his tail dragged a third part of the stars of Heaven, and cast them to the earth." State education has already had time to coil itself

round more than three generations of the young. Those who have escaped this embrace have not escaped the barracks. The habits of home life, of serious studies, of useful arts, are all sapped. In the years of early manhood, all the young men of the country idle away their time, going about in prim uniforms, and learning how to drill and to shoot. As to ecclesiastical vocations, they are duly inoculated with a canker which settles them. Divers religious institutes are now reduced to a few old men, barely sufficient to maintain the service of those churches which have been in the hands of their Orders for centuries.

Only two steps have to be taken to set things to rights again—repentance and reconstruction. The first of these has already been taken, so far as repentance means unlearning past follies. An ex-Prime Minister, Di Rudini, speaking at Milan a couple of months ago, delivered it as his opinion that "wrong was done to the Church; the law, for instance, suppressing religious corporations, as it was accomplished, was perhaps (?) an error"; and he dilated on the wholesale public immorality of the day.[1] Another ex-minister, Colombo, speaking in the same city only the other day, treated another side of the question. He adverted to the deficit of one hundred millions, with which the public accounts of 1894–95 closed. As to the new taxes imposed between February and December of 1894, he said: "There remained not a single solid or liquid which was not already taxed; there was nothing left then but to tax gases and imponderables; and they have come to that. Who knows but they will come to tax also the air of the atmosphere, as matter of consumption!"[2] The people who have felt all this keenly enough, without the declamation of politicians to quicken their perception, are engendering in their bosom a class who may yet be a match for the speculators. A rising tide of social anarchists, who will help themselves to spoils without legislation or discrimination, may yet swamp these financial anarchists, who have discriminated too punctiliously in their legislation.

After the repentance of unlearning past errors, there remains the more costly step of reconstruction. Here, unfortunately, unlearning wrong does not always mean learning right. When people are sorry for their last notion, they may still be fertile in other inventions, and only multiply ruin. It is not inventions that are wanted, whether constitutional or otherwise. It is simply the path of truth and justice, which is conspicuously one in the question of Rome, and is particularly obvious for a nation like this, which has not lost the faith. Very many, besides faith, have also

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[1] *Civiltà Cattolica*, 16 Marzo, 1895, p. 759.

[2] *Ibid.*, 18 Maggio, 1895, p. 482.

devotion, and lead pious lives. And the general composition of society exhibits so many solid qualities of a Catholic people! Were it not that the mass of journals is, as usual, in the hands of the corrupt element whose business it is to corrupt the minds of others, we might witness a perfectly just habit of mind in the people of the peninsula. As it is, one's Christian heart is moved to see so much charity and sociability, so much contentment with very little of the goods of this world, such resignation when persons are trying to find a bit of daily bread; and, all the while, other families are not seen, which after being in affluence, and still remaining noble, hide under the strictest privacy the direst destitution. This is part of the national chastisement for a national sin.

After all has been said, it would appear that the most grievous circumstance is the prolongation of a state of things which, the longer it lasts, shuts out more and more the possibility of things ever being seen again in their true light. The long interruption of traditions among a young generation, who are now the men of the day, prevents them from ever having had experience of a better state of things, and therefore of knowing how to mend their condition aright.

It was just in this sense that Tacitus, speaking of this same city of Rome at a former transformation, discerned the impossibility of any other result than that which was already an actual fact—a crushing despotism substituted for the freedom of the ancient republic. When Tiberius came into power, the historian remarks that the young generation of the day had all been born after the battle of Actium, after the assumption of power by Augustus Cæsar; most of the old men had been born during the civil wars, when the ancient order of things had received its death blow; who then was left that had seen and known the Republic? The names of magistrates might remain the same; peace might reign; but the past was irretrievably lost. *Domi res tranquillæ; eadem magistratuum vocabula; juniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotusquisque reliquus qui rempublicam vidisset?*[1]

THOMAS HUGHES, S.J.

[1] *Annal.*, i., 3.

INDIAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

"Sic Vos Non Vobis."

(Concluding Article.[1])

WE write these lines during Whitsuntide, a period in the ecclesiastical year of the Roman Catholic Church peculiarly suggestive in connection with much that is to be written of the story of the dissemination of the truths of Christianity in the "strange tongues" of and among the Indian nations of North America during the seventeenth, the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

In our first article on "Indian Bibliographies"[2] we outlined the unhappy career of Louis Macie, founder of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C.; the rise and progress of this institution during the past fifty years; with a biographical notice of James Constantine Pilling, the compiler of the eight Indian bibliographies under consideration, whose life-work in this field of American history has earned for him a high place as an historian.

This first article had reference to the Eskimo, the Iroquoian and the Siouan bibliographies, embracing most interesting periods in North American history, and particularly with reference to the Catholic missions in New York during the seventeenth century, and the printed and manuscript works relating to the seventeenth, the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, in connection with these families of the North American Indian races.

Our second article,[3] a notice of the Algonquian bibliography, contained the nomenclature of the hundred and more Indian nations comprising this great family and the outlines of the territory inhabited by these nations; but the vast scope of the compiler's work in the record of the printed and manuscript literature relating to these peoples, including the nations which have passed out of existence and those living at the present day, forced us to confine our attention to the consideration of the events and to the printed and manuscript works described, which relate to the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

The former works were considered in their order according to

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[1] *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, by James Constantine Pilling, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1891. Royal octavo, pp. 614.

[2] See the Am. Cath. Quar. Review, vol. xviii., No. 72, p. 698, October, 1893.

[3] See the Am. Cath. Quar. Review, vol. xix., No. 75, p. 545, July, 1894.

the nationalities under which they emanated, which principally embrace the French, the Dutch and the German.

Those printed works in the Indian languages published under English auspices were not considered in the second article, nor were any of the manuscripts in the Algonquian language and written during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries considered.

Our third article[1] completed the consideration of the printed works in the Indian languages which appeared under English auspices during the two previous centuries; the events coincident; an outline of the status of the New England nations before the advent of the whites; the Puritan missions under John Eliot and his disciples; the melancholy fate and the final extinguishment of the primitive owners of New England soil. We contrasted the results of the Catholic missions which were contemporary with the Puritan missions among other Algonquian nations, and we showed that the nations converted during the former, nearly three centuries ago, not only survive, but we proved by incontrovertible facts and figures that they were increasing and were leading Christian lives, happy and contented.

There remain, then, the printed works described by the compiler, which have appeared during this nineteenth century; but these works and the events to which they refer deserve a more extended study than we are prepared to give them at the present time. The consideration of the life-long labors of Bishop Baraga among the Chippewas of the Lakes and of Father de Smet among the wild Algonquian and Siouan tribes of the "Rockies" will be taken up in time. We shall, therefore, bring the present series of articles on Indian bibliographies to a conclusion by a study of the descriptions, the localities where they are kept and the text of the manuscripts in the Algonquian languages which were written during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and, as far as definitely established, we shall mention the authors of these early manuscripts.

Some of these manuscripts are preserved in the national libraries of Europe; others in the archives of colleges and in private collections abroad.

Some very valuable ones are in the archives of the archbishoprics of Quebec and of Montreal; many, quite yellow with age, but otherwise well preserved, are in the archives of Laval University; a few others are scattered extensively where they can neither be seen nor made available, for they are guarded as relics—heirlooms of an indefinite value, which have been handed down through generations remote, from sire to son, in many of the old French families of Canada.

[1] See the Am. Cath. Quar. Review, vol. xx., No. 78, p. 238, April, 1895.

Comparatively few original manuscripts in the Algonquian text are to be found in the American libraries; but a few rare examples have been acquired by gift, mostly by American philologists.

The most authentic of these manuscripts—and authenticity is, unfortunately, the exception to the rule with most—may be seen in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, which is a Jesuit institution; but the most numerous and valuable collections, as well as the most ancient, are still preserved in the archives of the Indian missions, where their use is constantly required.

Of the languages of the thirty-two Indian nations who originally owned the soil of the New England States, but whose people have disappeared from the face of the earth, there are but few manuscripts written by Puritan missionaries extant; and these relate to the eighteenth century. In the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, is preserved a vocabulary of the Massachusetts Indian languages, written by Josiah Cotton, about 1740. It is in quarto, 123 pages. There is also in the archives of the same society a vocabulary of the Massachusetts Indians by Samuel Danforth; manuscript, 49 leaves, lacking beginning and end; written in the early part of the eighteenth century. Rev. D. W. Stevens, Vineyard Haven, Mass., writes Mr. Pilling that he has six or eight sermons of Zachariah Howwoswe written in 1763. The author was probably a half-breed preacher. He died in 1821. And Mr. Stevens states that "he was the last person that used this language publicly in the world." Besides the above-described works by New England ministers, Thomas Jefferson has left several fragmentary manuscripts relating to Indian languages, of one of which, in the Unquachog dialect, he remarks: "There remain but three persons who can speak its language; they are old women." This nation once inhabited Brookhaven, south side of Long Island.[1]

The Moravian Missions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were conducted with such zeal and self-denial by the respective missionaries of this organization, that it is to be regretted no greater results of their labors remain. "The importance of communicating directly with the Indians," writes Mr. J. W. Jordan, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, to the compiler of the Algonquian Bibliography, "in order to dispense with the services of an interpreter—at all times, and especially in matters of religion, an unsatisfactory medium of communication—claimed the attention of the Moravians in America at an early date. This led them to establish schools for acquiring the prevalent languages and dia-

[1] Thomas Jefferson was a distinguished Indian philologist. Unfortunately, in the removal of his valuable and extensive collection of manuscripts from Washington to Monticello, the trunk containing them was pillaged and its priceless contents lost.

lects of that people." An Indian school was established at Bethlehem, Pa., soon after 1742.

From Bethlehem the Indian school was removed to Guadenhutten, where it continued until that settlement was destroyed. Zeisberger, Post, and other clergymen of this church, prominent in the missions among the Indians, received their first Indian linguistic instruction in these schools.

The range of the Moravian Missions extended from the central point at Bethlehem, through Pennsylvania, westward into Ohio, and across the Michigan frontier into western Canada.

One of the most distinguished of the Moravian missionaries was John Ettwein, who came from Würtemberg to America in 1754. After forty years of labor he was made a bishop. "He preached in eleven of the thirteen original colonies, and in what is now the State of Ohio. 'In cities,' to use his own words, 'in villages, in homesteads, from pulpits, in the open air, in court-houses and barns, to many and very different classes of men.' He labored frequently among the Indians, and in 1772 led the Christian Indians from the Susquehanna to the Tuscarawas Valley of Ohio."[1]

The border wars of Pennsylvania, stirred up invariably by bad white men, made, for a time, the situation of the Moravian Indian converts exceedingly wretched. The same antipathy towards the Christian red man, which had prevailed in New England during Eliot's apostolate of the seventeenth century, obtained and ruled to such an extent in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century as to stifle all feeling of humanity, and to defy local or State authorities. The sufferings and fatalities endured by the unfortunate Christian Indians, who were taken to Philadelphia to shield them from the fury of lawless white men, when described in detail, is a melancholy story, constituting, as it does, a dark chapter in the history of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Bishop Ettwein succeeded in founding, in 1787, The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathens, "which still exists, has a large endowment, and contributes liberal amounts toward the support of the extensive missions of the Moravian Church."[2]

It was by the aid furnished by this society that the philological and devotional books composed by Grube, Heckewelder, Luckenbach, Roth, and Zeisberger, all prominent missionaries, were printed; but besides the many works published, several of their manuscripts remain, mostly in Moravian institutions, but several are to be found in the library of Harvard College.

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[1] Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, p. 185.

[2] Appleton's *Cyclop. of Am. Biog.*, quoted by Pilling, p. 185.

These manuscripts are principally in Delaware and German, and Lenapé and German.

The inception of the first mission undertaken by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus for the conversion of the Indian races of North America, may be credited to Henry IV. of France and Navarre, "who, when confirming a grant to the Sieur de Poutrincourt, in 1608, expressed a wish that some Jesuit fathers should be sent over to labor for the conversion of the Indians."

But it was by the charity and zeal of a wealthy French lady, Antoinette de Pons, Marquise de Guercheville, that funds were provided for the first missionary expedition,[1] which sailed in January, 1611.[2]

How that enterprise was first interfered with by adverse interests in France, and finally crushed by the English buccaneer Argall, has already been outlined. After the foundation of Quebec, Champlain obtained from France four Franciscan Fathers of the Recollect reform to minister to the French settlers and to convert the natives. With Father Denis Jamay, the commissary or superior, came Fathers John d'Olbeau and Joseph le Caron, with lay brother Pacificus du Plessis. The religious reached Tadoussac on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1615. They soon began their labors at the trading-posts established by the French, and among the Montagnais Indians on the St. Lawrence, while Father Joseph le Caron, embarking with some canoes of the Hurons, penetrated to the villages of that nation. The Recollects soon learned the two great languages of Canada, the Algonquin and Huron, and preached the Gospel far and wide; but though others of their order came to share their labors, they saw that the field was too vast for them to occupy profitably.

Thereupon they invited the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to join them, and in 1625 Fathers Charles Lalemant, Enemond Masse, and John de Brébeuf arrived, to be welcomed by the Recollects, but to be eyed with distrust by many of the French, who were full of the prejudices inspired by the Huguenots.

The missions were then more zealously extended, and in the autumn of 1626 Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, a Recollect of noble family, set out from the Huron country for the Neuter nation, who occupied both banks of the Niagara, and reached their frontier nearest to the Senecas, but barely escaped with his life. This zealous religious was, so far as can now be ascertained, the first Catholic priest from Canada who penetrated into the present

[1] See Am. Cath. Quar. Rev., vol. xix., No. 75, p. 550.

[2] Madam de Guercheville obtained from Louis XIII. a grant of all the territory lying between the St. Lawrence and Florida, which grant antedates the New England grant.

territory of the United States. He carried back a knowledge of the people and of the country, noting among the products the mineral oil.

The new colony of Canada had, however, but a feeble life. Neglected by the government at home, it was soon at the lowest extremity, and in July, 1629, Champlain surrendered to Captain David Kirk, an English commander, who appeared with a fleet before the starving post of Quebec.

The Recollects and Jesuits were all carried off by the English, and Catholicity had no altar or worship till the restoration of the country.

When England, by the treaty of Saint Germain des Près, in 1632, finally restored Canada to France, after dishonorably retaining a province, captured when peace had been declared between the two powers, Cardinal Richelieu offered the Canadian mission to the Capuchins; but the religious of that reform, seeing by the voyages of Champlain, and the works of the Recollect Brother Sagard, how vast a field awaited evangelical laborers, even in the territory that French energy had laid open in twenty years, in itself a mere portal to immense unexplored regions, declined to undertake the task. The great cardinal then summoned to the task the Society of Jesus, excluding the Recollects entirely.[1]

The passport of the first Jesuit missionaries was signed by the hand of his eminence.[2]

We have quoted freely from Dr. Shea, believing that it may be possible his great work on colonial church history may not have been read as extensively as the work deserves.

Besides, while writing the lines we have quoted, the personality of the doctor has been present to our mind, linked as it is with memories which captivate whenever evoked.

Here, then, commences the glorious history, with the advent of the scholarly and venerable disciples of Loyola, more than 260 years ago, of the Jesuit missions; which in time extended among the Algonquian nations, from the shores of the St. Lawrence to the head waters of Lake Superior, and from where Chicago now stands through the "Illinois country," and the prairie and mountainous regions of the great West to the Pacific Ocean. Paralyzed for a time, the first period of this history ended towards the close of the eighteenth century, and the ending of the careers of the venerable missionaries of the *old regime* of the Society of Jesus.

When the latter had disappeared from the scene of their apostolic work, their places were taken by the disciples of St. Francis

[1] Dr. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 224, 225.

[2] Dr. Shea writes: "I saw this passport some years ago in the Bureau des Terres, Montreal, but it has since disappeared."

and St. Sulpice, and by zealous secular and regular priests, who ministered to the Christians in the Algonquian nations, and who continue this work. But the work of danger, of self-sacrifice and of great hardship was again resumed toward the middle period of the nineteenth century by such Jesuits as de Smet and his co-laborers of the *new regime* of their order, in the "Rockies" and on the Pacific coast, and this work still continues.

While the Chippewas of the lakes still had their homes in the regions of Lake Superior and adjacent waters, they were evangelized by Baraga and other seculars; and all this missionary work from its earliest period to modern times, including the Ottawa, the Pottawotomi and other nations of the lower lakes, has furnished Indian linguistic material for the "Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages."

The manuscripts, as well as the printed works connected with the Eskimo, the Iroquoian, and the Siouan languages having already been noticed in our second article, as stated, will have no place in our present article.

The appearance of the manuscripts we are about to refer to indicate very clearly that not only was writing paper a very scarce commodity with the fathers in the missionary regions, but such paper as was available, which was of a poor quality, was economized to the greatest possible extent, its surface being closely covered on both sides of the leaves; poor as it is, it has stood the wear and use during centuries fairly well.

It is now quite yellow. Fortunately, the ink remains clear and black; and from what we have ourselves seen, and from what has been described by the compiler of these bibliographies, we conclude that the Jesuit fathers of North America prepared the ink they used from one general formula, which was probably in general use by the fathers of the Company of Jesus up to the close of the eighteenth century.

The manuscripts are generally in quarto form, about nine inches wide and twelve inches long. Most of those in the archives of the Archbishoprics of Quebec and Montreal, as also those in Laval and other Canadian universities, have been properly bound; and as a rule are in good condition. This may be said also of such of these manuscripts as are to be found in the private collections of Americana both in Canada and in the United States.

It is to be regretted that many of those preserved in some of the old Indian missionary centres of Canada, where they were probably originally compiled during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and where their continued use has been found necessary during all the nineteenth century, are unbound and in bad condition.

It would be, perhaps, advisable to have each collection catalogued and put in proper order, and after a vault had been provided in which they might be guarded against the accidents of the elements, the ravages of rats and mice, their custodians should be held accountable also for such as come under their control. Year after year some rare compositions have disappeared, and such losses may be charged to the cupidity of relic hunters.[1]

The gems in the Algonquian linguistic treasures are the dictionaries; these range generally in their contents from 500 double columns quarto pages to 900 and over; some more extensive have as many as 1800 pages in the aggregate of two or more volumes.

The Indian languages forming the subject for translation are the Abnaki, the Algonkin, the Illinois, the Micmac, the Montagnais, the Nipissing of the Abnaki family, and the Ottawa.

The people of these nations were mostly evangelized by Catholic missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centurtes. Some of them have occupied lower Canadian terrritory from times so remote that there is no genesis reliable.[2]

Their ancestors saw the Five Nations of the Iroquoians, while wanderers as they were from their original homes in the South in search of new homes in the North, build their cantons on the Island of Hochelaga, a century or more before the advent of Jacques Cartier; the Micmacs, whose homes and present condition were described in our third article; the Illinois whose nations have disappeared, and the Ottawa of the lakes, among whose tribes some of the most distinguished Catholic missionaries dwelt during the seventeenth, eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries.

The men of the latter nation were during its autonomy, down to the times of Pontiac, one of their famous rulers, considered the finest formed athletes of the North American Indian races.

It is evident that the compilation of an Indian-French dictionary, could only be made by a scholar proficient in the classical languages; proficient in the grammatical rules and signification of the words of the French language; after he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the roots of the indigenous language, the uses and meaning of the words, as well as of the gutturals, inseparably connected as these were, with the languages spoken by the North American Indians.

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[1] One of the most ancient of the manuscripts in the Seminary of Lac des Deux Montagnes (Oka), Canada, was a "Grammaire Algonquine," prepared by F. Robert Michael Gay, the first superior of the mission. It had additions of Algonkin names, with French translation by Father Maurice Quèré de Fieguron, the second superior. This precious little work was seen and described later than 1882; but in 1889 it could not be found in the archives of the mission.

[2] See the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. xx., No. 78, April, 1895.

It would not be so difficult a task perhaps, for an average linguist to perform such work, while seated in his own cabinet, where all the works of reference he might need were within his reach; or perhaps, for the modern American missionary, seated in his study, in the parsonage of the "mission," surrounded with civilized conveniences, with the agreeable warmth created by a stove and with his desk lighted by a students' lamp, while in an adjoining room, a wife, with her own or her husband's sister, made the situation more agreeable with vocal or instrumental music, for the piano or parlor-organ usually has a place in such households.

But the situation of the Indian missionary of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the scholarly men who compiled these manuscript works, while engaged in such linguistic labor, was far different. If the missionary was so fortunate as to have a permanent residence so-called, with a chapel built of logs and roofed with bark, and a "mission house," though built of the same materials, he was fortunate if such mission centre, while in the forest regions of North America, was undisturbed by the vicinity of the white trader with his *fire-water* and adverse influence.

His home was not much better than the cabins of the chiefs and head men of the tribes with whom he lived and among whose people he ministered for their spiritual welfare. He lived like the people of his Indian constituency; his daily food was of the same simple kind, and he practiced the same rules of charity and of hospitality, which were the second nature of the North American Indian, before he had been spoiled by contact with the whites.

Day and night his mission house was open to the wayfarer; if he was hungry, he set before him the best food he had in his larder; if he was thirsty, he gave him maple sap flavored with sassafras, and if he was weary and needed rest, the guest was given a couch of soft furs whereon to sleep; and when he was rested, he was again refreshed with the missionary's fare, and he went on his way with the benediction of his apostolic host.

The latch string of the door of the missionary's home was ever unstrung.

Such however was the general custom in the primitive times of the North American Indian. At no hour of the day or the night, was the missionary's door closed to the messenger sent for religious ministration, or to the wayfarer who needed food and rest.

They were the teachers of the doctrines of the Catholic faith; they found charity practically illustrated among the children of the forest and the lives they led exemplified the practice of Christian life.

Such were the authors, such the compilers, and such the surroundings of the Catholic missionaries whose Indian-French, and

Indian-Latin dictionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries excite our admiration at the present day. The question will arise in the minds of most readers: "how could these missionaries, whose lives were devoted to the spiritual welfare of their Christian constituency, which necessitated the performance of the sacred ceremonies, the visitations of the sick, the instruction of catechumens, the administration of the sacraments of baptism, marriage and extreme unction, the burial of the dead, besides the reading of their office and daily meditations, and the attention which had to be given to the consultations of the chiefs, and to the healing of dissensions among the families of their flocks,—find the time requisite for such dry and monotonous philological work as the compilation of an Indian dictionary required?"

The answer is given by the missionaries. As each letter of the alphabet was reached, the words, their uses and their signification were studied during their daily avocations and carefully noted.

Father Louis André, S.J., in his preface to the Algonquin manuscript dictionary, 1688, writes in his sixteenth paragraph of this preface:

"Il est bon d'avoir toujours dans sa poche un escritoire ou un crayon et des tablettes pour marquer tout ce que nous pourrez attrapper de ce qu'ils disent[1] et après nous proposerez à nostre[2] maistre ce que nous avez oui et marqué." (*Sic.*[3])

Father Sebastian Rasles, S.J., writes: "On the 23d of July, 1689, I embarked at Rochelle; and after a tolerably good voyage of about three months, I arrived at Quebec in October of the same year. I at once applied myself to the study of the language of our Indians.

"It is very difficult; for it is not sufficient to study the words and their meaning, and to acquire a stock of words and phrases, but we must acquaint ourselves with the turn and arrangement of them, as used by the Indians; which can only be attained by intercourse and familiarity with them."

In 1691, Father Rasles wrote on the first leaf of the dictionary he had commenced:

"Il y a un an que je suis parmi les sauvages, et je commence à mettre en ordre en forme de dictionaire les mots que j'apprens." When Father Rasles was slain by the English in 1724, the dictionary he had commenced thirty-three years previously was probably in progress of completion.

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[1] Referring to the conversation of the Indians.

[2] Nostre maistre, has reference to the Indian mentor, selected to aid in the acquisition of the dialect.

[3] *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, André-Père Louis, p. 13.

Here is another feature disclosed in the compilation of Indian-French dictionaries.

In the library of McGill College, Montreal, Canada, is preserved a manuscript French-Ottawa dictionary, the title of which, in Latin, reads: "Dictionarium Gallico 8ta8ka."[1] Mr. Pilling was at a loss to name the author or to fix the date of the compilation, and he applied to Father Arthur E. Jones, S.J., archivist of the College of St. Mary, Montreal. Father Jones is, probably, the best living authority on the manuscript *Jesuitana* of the old *régime* of his order in Canada. He named Father Pierre de Jaunay as the author of the dictionary, its date as 1741, and its compilation as having been completed at Michilimacinac. When asked by Mr. Pilling for his reasons, Father Jones replied:

"You ask me how I know that the Indian Dictionary at McGill College was the work of Father Du Jaunay. Here is positive evidence: The labor entailed in completing each letter has some special patron. He places the letter D under the protection of the Blessed Virgin while presenting Our Lord in the temple:

"'D—Sub protectione Deiparae Virginis Filium suum offerentis, quod festum amabile ante hos dies quindecim celebrabamus, quo die (2 Feb.) vota suae professionis emittebat carissimus socius meus P. de la Morinie; item sub protectione X^{ti} a diabolo tentati et jejunantis, quae stupenda Domini Nostri Dei Hominis cras in evangelio legemus prima Quadragesimae Dominica,' etc.

"That is to say, he undertook the letter D on Saturday, the 18th day of February, 1741, fifteen days after the Feast of the Purification, 2d February, and on the eve of the first Sunday of Lent. Easter that year fell on the 2d of April, Ash Wednesday on the 15th of February, and the first Sunday of Lent on February 19th.

"I have in my possession the official record of Father de la Morinie's last vows on profession. They were taken at St. Ignace, Michilimacinac, on the 2d of February, 1741, in presence of Father Du Jaunay, his companion in that mission."[2]

It was probably during the dreary months of the Canadian winters, when few wayfarers were likely to pull the latch-string of the missionary's door—for the trails, the Indians' highways, were covered with deep snow—that in the mornings, between the angelus, at half-past four, and the celebration of Mass in the chapel, a couple of hours were devoted to the work of writing out the notes which may have been taken; and again, at night, by the light of an unsavory fish-oil lamp, the work was resumed, and, with the aid of the Indians selected to assist, the words con-

[1] The figure 8 was used by the missionaries to denote the guttural oua, as in ouatoua, meaning Ottawa.

[2] *Algonquian Bibliography*, p. 260.

nected with each letter of the alphabet were permanently written in the Indian-French dictionary. If the missionary, as was the rule in permanent missions, had for his assistant a lay brother, the latter, usually well educated, rendered assistance in the compilation of the French words, and by the combined efforts of the Indian mentors, this philological work progressed year by year, until the dictionary was completed.

These dictionaries were compiled for the benefit of missionaries who were to succeed the authors in their apostolic work, to facilitate the acquisition of the Indian dialects, a practical knowledge of which was essential to successful work among the Indian population.

In 1851–53 Bishop Baraga, having evangelized the Indians of the lakes, made his home at L'Anse, and completed his famous grammar and dictionary of the Chippewa language—"perhaps," it is claimed, "the most important contribution to Indian philology made hitherto."[1]

The Very Rev. Edward Jacker, Vicar-General of Bishop Baraga and the friend and companion of the Bishop, undertook, after the death of the latter, the work of correcting and amplifying Bishop Baraga's Chippewa-English dictionary, which, from his thorough knowledge of the Chippewa language, he was enabled to complete after twenty years' continuous labor. Unfortunately, the result of this life's work, it may be said, was destroyed by an accident, by which he lost his canoe and its contents in Lake Michigan.

Unlike the work of the missionaries in the compilations they intended for the aid of their successors during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Baraga-Jacker Chippewa dictionary was designed to perpetuate the language of the Chippewas, whom General Cass claimed to have been the greatest of the Algonquian nations, and among whom, in remote times, had been centred the intelligence as well as the greatest power of the North American Indian nations. Father Jacker, a man of our own times and a profound student of Indian philology, is mentioned in this connection to give some idea *of the number of years* which may be absorbed in the linguistic labor of the compilation of an Indian dictionary.

We give in alphabetical order the names of the missionaries who have been positively identified as the authors of many of the Indian manuscripts extant in America, as well as in Europe, which are described in the Algonquian bibliography, in so far as these works relate to Algonquian nations. The missionary period in America is given as near as can be ascertained. Fathers:

[1] *Appleton's Cyclop. of Am. Biog.*

Allouez, Claude, S.J., 1665–1689.
André, Louis, S.J., 1669–1715.
Aubéry, Joseph, S.J., 1694–1755.
Bellenger, Joseph Mary, Abbé, 1790.
Bigot, Vincent, S.J., 1680– .
Crespeuil, Francis X., S.J., 1676–1690.
Favre, Bonaventure, S.J., 1679–1693.
Gravier, James, S.J., 1684–1708.
Du Jaunay, Peter, S.J., 1728–1755.
Laure, Peter, S.J., 1720–1731.
Le Boulanger, Joseph Ignatius, S.J., 1700–1744.
Lesueur, Francis Eustache, S.J., 1716–1753.
Maillard, Abbé Anthony S., 1738–1768.
Marest, Gabriel, S.J., 1676–1702.
Masse, Enemond, S.J., 1611–1646.
Mathevet, John Claude, C.S.S., 1740–1781.
Meurin, Louis Sebastian, S.J., 1743–1778.
Maurice, John Baptist, S.J., 1734–1746.
Nicolas, Louis, S. J., 1664–1675.
Rasles, Sebastian, S. J., 1689–1724.
Silvy, Anthony, S.J., 1671–1707.
Vaultier, Peter, S.J., 1676–1691.
Virot, Claude Francis, S.J., 1750–1759.
White, Andrew, S.J., 1640– .

Father Allouez wrote for the use of Father Marquette, prayers, instructions, and a catechism in the Illinois language, in 1673, which is minutely described by Mr. Pilling.[1] This manuscript, when described for the latter, by the Abbé Sasseville, of St. Foye, Canada, was owned by Surgeon Major Hubert Neilson, Kingston, Canada.

Father André compiled his "Dictionnairè Algonquin" in 1688; his sermons in the Montagnais, and instructions for the use of missionaries, a few years later; and his homilies in the Montagnais language in 1672. These three manuscripts are now in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.

Father Aubéry, missionary with the Abnakis, at St. Francis de Sales, now Pierreville, Canada, toward the close of the seventeenth century, compiled his first "Dictionnaire Française-Abnaquis," 540 quarto pages, of which Judge Charles Gill writes: "This dictionary is a work which has required immense labor and a Benedictine patience." A later dictionary in the same languages, of 927 pages in double columns, was compiled later, but is not complete.

[1] *Algonquin Bibliography*, pp. 10–11.

Father Aubéry also wrote in Abnaki the "Chant Liturgique," a work of 577 quarto pages.

In addition to the three manuscripts described above, which are in the archives of the St. Francis Mission, there are six others in the library of the Archbishopic of Quebec, and described by Mr. Pilling, who quotes from Abbé Maurault:[1]

"Father Aubéry was ordained at Quebec, September 21, 1699, and was employed on the Abnaki missions. In 1709, he was ordered to St. Francis, and remained at that mission until his death, which occurred in 1755. He was well versed in the Abnaki language." "He wrote much, and nearly always in that language. By arduous and persevering labor during forty-six years, he formed a considerable collection of valuable manuscripts. As these were deposited in the church with the registers of the mission, they were unfortunately destroyed in 1759 in the incendiary burning of that church.[2]

The Abbé Joseph Bellenger wrote in Micmac sermons and instructions for the use of missionaries; his manuscript, which is in the library of the Archbishopric of Quebec, is in quarto, about 300 pages. In the same library is a manuscript work by Father Vincent Bigot, in Abnaki-French, prayers, about 600 pages, written 1684–1686.

In the same library, is a similar work in Abnaki, Algonquin, Montagnais, and Esquimaux, by Father Francis Xavier de Crespieul, written in 1676.

In the library of Laval University, Quebec, is a manuscript of about 400 octavo pages, a Montagnais-French dictionary, written in 1689, by Father Bonaventure Favre.

In the library of Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn., is a manuscript Illinois–French dictionary, by Father James Gravier, which was probably written about the time the latter missionary succeeded Father Allouez as superior of the Illinois mission, which is said to have been in 1690.

Dr. Trumbull is considered a high authority in American-Indian

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[1] *Histoire des Abnakis depuis* 1605 *jusq'a nos jours.* Par l'Abbé J. A. Maurault. Quebec. 1866.

[2] Captain Rogers, a "border ruffian," with a company of "rangers," freebooters like himself, from the Mohawk Valley, without specific authority from General Amherst, raided the Abnaki mission of St. Francis.

Rogers stole the silver statue of St. Francis de Sales, greatly venerated by the Indians, and the sacred vessels from the altars; after plundering the mission, the church and the mission establishment were set on fire, and, with the registers and a priceless collection of manuscripts, entirely destroyed.

This was the only act of vandalism which stained the record of the campaigns of Wolf and Amherst in the conquest of Canada. But it was an unauthorized piece of guerilla brigandage.

philology. His description of the manuscript, which he furnished Mr. Pilling,[1] is quite interesting; as are likewise the other notes on this distinguished Jesuit.

We have already described when and where the Ottawa-Latin dictionary in the library of McGill College, Montreal, was compiled by Father Peter du Jaunay.

Father Peter Laure, who had charge of the Saguenay mission from 1720 until his death in 1738, left several manuscripts in the Montagnais language, among which are a Montagnais grammar and dictionary. It is uncertain where the latter works are at the present time.

Mr. Pilling describes three which are in the library of the Archbishopric of Quebec, in the Montagnais text, designed to aid priests in their missionary labors among the people of this nation. In this connection, it would be advisable to consult, as to Father Laure, the work of Father Arthur E. Jones, S.J., on the Saguenay mission.[2]

Of Father Joseph Ignatius Boulanger's French-Illinois dictionary, Dr. Shea is quoted:[3]

"A manuscript dictionary exists of the Illinois language, which, in extent and careful preparation, exceeds any work known on any of the Algonquian dialects. It is to all appearance the work of the Jesuit Father Le Boulanger, whose labors on the Illinois language are highly extolled in the "Lettres Edifiantes." The Illinois have now disappeared, but, for purposes of research and study, their language is one of the most interesting of the various dialects of the widespread Algonquian. They were on the extreme southwest, and were separated on the east by the Iroquoians from the Delawares, and had on the west the Dacota tribes. Their language, as shown in this dictionary throws much light on western names of tribes, rivers, lakes, etc., and by contrast with that of the kindred Lenni or Delawares, as preserved by the Moravians, furnishes the amplest known material for the study of the Algonquian languages."

For a more extended account of Father Le Boulanger's works, consult page 303 of Pilling's "Algonquian Bibliography."

Father Francis Eustache Lesueur compiled a dictionary of the roots of the Abnaki language; the manuscript, compiled between the years 1716–1753, is in quarto, 900 pages, and is preserved in the archives of the mission of St. Francis, with other manuscripts written by the same Jesuit missionary.

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[1] *Algonquian Bibliography*, etc, pp. 211–212.

[2] *Documents Rares ou Inédits, Mission du Saguenay, etc.* Par le Père Arthur E. Jones, S.J. Montreal, Archives du Collège Ste. Marie. 1889.

[3] *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, p. 302.

The Abbé Anthony Maillard, who served as a missionary in Acadia, composed a Micmac grammar of 184 quarto pages, which was in the library of Dr. John G. Shea. Many other manuscripts written by the Abbé Maillard are extant.

Father Gabriel Marest wrote a catechism and collection of prayers, while serving as a missionary among the Illinois in 1699, in the Illinois language. He had a good knowledge of this language, and was able to instruct the Jesuit fathers who came to share his labor. He was also the author of other translations designed to aid missionary work in the Illinois regions. He made a journey to Hudson Bay in 1694 in company with Iberville.

The Sulpitian missionary, Father John Paul Mathevet, who was at the mission of the Lake of the Two Mountains (Oka) from 1746 to 1781, left several manuscript works in the Nipissing dialect of the Abnaki family and a small Abnaki-French dictionary. All his manuscripts are at the Oka mission.

Another eminent Jesuit, and among the last of the fathers of the old *régime*, was Sebastian Louis Meurin, regarding whom Mr. Pilling quotes: "In Morse J.—, 'Report to the Secretary of War,' p. 144, will be found the following note: 'The Rev. Father Meurin died at Prairie du Rocher, 45 miles below St. Louis, 15 above Kaskaskias, on the Mississippi, in the year 1778. He was the last of the Jesuits in this country.[1] He was ordered home; but at the request of the Indians he returned and died with them. He was a very learned man, and has left a valuable library and a manuscript 'dictionary' of the Indian and French languages in twenty-four volumes. He was missionary to Illinois Indians, and was respected and beloved by them as a very pious and faithful missionary.'"[2]

The report of Mr. Morse to the Secretary of War, while creditable to Father Meurin, is misleading so far as it relates to an Illinois-French dictionary of twenty-four volumes. No such manuscript, the work of Father Meurin, is extant, either in America or in Europe. The work was probably in twenty-four parts or divisions, and not in volumes. So extensive a work could not have remained hidden from the determined search of James Constantine Pilling.

That a French-Illinois dictionary in manuscript, the work of Father Meurin, has been among the contributions of the French Jesuit missionaries to the philology of the North American Indian nations is generally admitted; but, at the same time, we are forced to admit that the location or identification of the manuscripts of the learned missionary has so far proved futile.

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[1] Meaning the southwest probably.

[2] *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, p. 569.

But the name of Meurin is an index to several chapters in the history of the eighteenth century, in connection with French Louisiana, prior to, and even just after the cession of what was comprised in Louisiana, to British rule. And these chapters are the chronicles of some of the shabbiest work of so-called French officials in their outrageous spoliation of religious establishments conducted by the Jesuit fathers, and their unlawful persecution of the latter.

Should the reader wish to read the history of these events he may consult "Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane"; "Memoires Historique," Dumont; "Lettres Edifiante," Fr. Vivier; Kipp; and Dr. Shea, in "The Catholic Church in Colonial Days."

The reader will probably admit that the preservation of the linguistic works of the missionary fathers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when these works had been completed, after many years of tedious study and labor, was a difficult task, on account of adverse politico-religious interference, besides accidents of providential occurrence.

Father John Baptist Maurice, who was a missionary for five years at Tadoussac, has left a Montagnais manuscript of a series of sermons. The missionary died at his post in 1746, while yet young in sacerdotal life. His manuscript is in the library of the Archbishopric of Quebec.

Father Louis Nicolas, the elder of two brothers who were members of the Company of Jesus, and who came to America to serve as missionaries among the Indians, compiled an Algonquian grammar, in 1670, while at the mission of the Lake of the Two Mountains.

This grammar is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, numbered 1 in Catalogue 327, and minutely described.

The dictionary of Father Sebastian Rasles, the martyr to Puritan fanatic hatred of the sacerdotal element of the Catholic faith, has been widely noticed.

This manuscript, "Dictionary of the Abnaki Language of North America," is regarded as one of the brightest gems in the linguistic collection of Harvard College. How many brilliant minds among the Puritan students of this American Athenæum have been, by the study of this manuscript of Father Rasles, tempted to taste of the forbidden fruit and to "read up" the Roman Catholic religion, would be a difficult calculation. We do know, however, that among the distinguished converts who have had the happiness to submit their minds to the requirements of the Church of Jesus Christ, and to enjoy that abiding faith, which can only be enjoyed within Her fold, during the past half century, none have been more faithful, none have been more consistent Christians than

those whose Puritanic lineage is clear and well-defined. Here is the notice of another dictionary by a Jesuit missionary, which connects with a history by no means creditable to the representatives of British power on North American soil:[1] Father Anthony Silvy, "Dictionary of the Montagnais Language, 1678–1688."

Here is what Mr. Pilling has to say of this work: "Manuscript, 104 leaves, 12mo., of the seventeenth century. Alphabetically arranged, irregularly paged; some leaves numbered, others not. The handwriting is extremely small and fine, but fairly legible. The margins are covered with signs and points, such as crosses, bars, angles, etc.; but there is no key to these to determine their meaning. Bound in caribou leather. In 1885, I was furnished by the Abbé Sasseville, of St. Foy, Quebec, with a minutely-detailed description of the above manuscripts and of one by Père Allouez (*q.v.*), both belonging to Surgeon-Major Neilson, of Kingston, Canada."

Since then these descriptions have been published (see Sasseville, J., and Shea, J. G.), and from that publication I have condensed the above and made the following extracts:

"The manuscript is of particular interest to those philologists who devote themselves to the study of the primitive languages spoken by the Indians of North America."

"It belonged formerly to the library of the Jesuits in their ancient college at Quebec. When in 1800 the British government took possession of their property after the death of the last survivor of the Jesuit order in Canada, Father Casot, their library was sold at auction, and the Honorable John Neilson became the purchaser of a number of volumes, among which was found, by a happy accident, the manuscript by Allouez, and the Montagnais Dictionary, not less precious. There is no date or hint as to the date, when the manuscript was composed. But in following the career of Father Silvy, it may be assumed that this work was done during his stay in the Montagnais missions of Tadoussac and Hudson Bay, since this dictionary reproduces the language of his neophytes. The date of this manuscript may therefore with some reason be placed between the years 1678 and 1688."[2]

In the library of the Archbishopric of Quebec, there is a quarto manuscript of about eighty pages, of "Instructions Montagnaises," with Latin titles. The sermons in Montagnais are on the left of a line, and a French translation on the right. This work is in the handwriting of Father Silvy, and was probably written at the Tadoussac mission about the year 1680.

[1] It would be well to consult Dr. Shea's *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, *in re* Silvy, p. 278–9.

[2] *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, p. 462.

In the same library are two manuscripts by Father Peter Vaultier, a Jesuit missionary among the Montagnais, one of which bears the title, "Chants religieux en Montagnais." It is a work of about forty small quarto pages; there is another of about one hundred and thirty 12mo pages, with this title: "Hic precum, catecheseos, hymnorum liber lingua Algonica, descriptus est a R. P. Vaultier, S.J., 1676."

The manuscript is bound in caribou and is very well preserved.

The manuscript of another Jesuit missionary, Father Claude Francis Virot, in the Abnaki language, being a series of instructions for missionary use, is in the archives of the mission of St. Francis at Pierreville, Canada. The most ancient of all the linguistic productions of Jesuit missionaries in America, is probably that of Father Andrew White, which Mr. Pilling notes, as: "Grammar, dictionary, and catechism in the language of the Maryland Indians."[1] "Father White labored among the Piscataways, and these works were probably in their language," says Dr. Shea. "When Rev. Father William McSherry found White's Relatio Itineris in the archives of the Professed House of the Jesuits at Rome, about 1832, an Indian catechism accompanied that document. A copy of it was promised me, but in the troubles in Italy the valuable papers were boxed up and stored for safety."[2]

Father White, an English Jesuit, who had been banished from England, had filled professors' chairs in several colleges on the continent. When the expedition of Lord Baltimore to Maryland was being organized in 1633, Father White's provincial appointed him superior of missionary work under the auspice of Lord Baltimore.

He, with Father John Altham, another English Jesuit, and a lay brother, Thomas Gervase, sailed with Lord Baltimore's expedition from Cowes in November, 1633, and landed on American soil in March, 1634.

From his ordination in France in 1605, till his death in England in 1656, the career of Father White was both romantic and adventurous. His early experience in England brought imprisonment and exile. His learning earned for him professional honors on the continent, while in America his name is connected with that of Lord Baltimore and the foundation of the Church in Maryland.

Of the more valuable and extensive manuscripts written during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which have been described by Mr. Pilling, as appertaining to the Algonquian languages, there

[1] "*Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*," p. 525.

[2] It will interest the reader to consult Dr. Shea's "*The Catholic Church in Colonial Times*," pp. 40–2, 44–9, 53–4 and 64, in relation to Father White, as well as the authorities therein quoted.

are 22 dictionaries, 14 grammars, 16 catechisms, 19 collections of sermons, 18 rituals of prayers, litanies, and acts of devotion, 5 gospel and scriptural lessons, 9 hymnals and canticles, and 7 instructions intended expressly for the use of missionaries in the administration of the sacraments.

Only fourteen of the dictionaries can be positively traced to their compilers.

But besides the works designated, there are many duplicates and triplicates of the most useful, made principally during the eighteenth century and not included in the numbers of the originals.

It is a notable fact, that the greater number of the most extensive of these manuscript works, are written in the languages of Indian nations existing at the present day, whose people may be claimed to be solidly Catholic, who have been under the spiritual guidance of Catholic missionaries from the early decades of the seventeenth century down to the present time. This is proved by the fact that there are 51 written works in the Abnaki language proper;[1] 69 in the Algonkin and Abnaki families of dialects; 33 in the Micmac language, and 17 in the Montagnais dialects of the Indians in the Tadoussac region.

Of the languages of other nations who may not be Catholic at the present time as solidly as those above named, there are 9 in the Ottawa, 6 in the Menominee, 7 in the Pottawotomi, 4 in the Chippewa, 1 each in the Cheyenne and the Cree, 5 in the Blackfoot, 1 in the Passamaquoddy and 1 in the Mississauga languages. Then there are the Moravian converts' languages, of which there are 3 in the language of the remnants of the Mohegans, 2 of the Delawares and 2 of the Shawnees.

Of the languages of the partially extinct Algonquian nations, the most extensive and valuable relate to the Illinois, of which there are nine, written, mostly during the seventeenth century, by Catholic missionaries. There are three unimportant works in the Massachusetts dialects, and the fragmentary manuscripts of Thomas Jefferson. Besides these, there are the Catechism, grammar, and dictionary of the Jesuit Father Andrew White, written in the languages of the Pautuxent and Piscataway extinct nations of Maryland, as described, in the early part of the seventeenth century.

When we attempt to locate and to mention the present custodians of the manuscripts we have been considering, we cannot re-

[1] Writing of the Abnaki language proper, Father Vetromile (Eugene), of Biddeford, Maine, in 1875, says: "I do not know of any language of my knowledge, the Greek and Latin included, that could express the form of baptism in a theological point of view as the Indian (Abnaki) does.

frain from again expressing our admiration of the compiler of these Indian bibliographies, James Constantine Pilling. It is truly wonderful, particularly in regard to manuscripts, which, unlike printed books, are most difficult to trace, for there may be hundreds of copies and in different languages and editions of a printed work, but there can be but one original manuscript as a rule. How well he has succeeded in gaining the knowledge of the location and the contents of the written works described by him in this bibliography!

Before we attempt to describe the location, the depositories, and the present custodians of the manuscripts described, we beg to recall the attention of our readers to the fact that they have relation only to the languages of the Algonquian nations; and that they are entirely distinct from the manuscripts of the Iroquoian nations which have been described in a previous article,[1] many of which are unique and precious, especially those relating to the missions of Huronia and to the Iroquoian missions of New York during the seventeenth century.

In the archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec there are thirty-three or more manuscripts in the Algonquian languages, with translations and notes in French and Latin.

In the library of the University of Laval there are fourteen. At Oka,[2] mission of the Lac des Deux Montagnes, where for nearly two and a half centuries the Abnaki and Iroquoian Indians have lived and died in the Catholic faith, there are fifty-eight or more manuscripts in the language of the Abnaki's and of kindred tribes of this nationality. At the mission of St. Francis at Pierreville, an Abnaki mission, whose origin dates from the middle period of the seventeenth century, thirteen manuscripts only are all that remain of the precious works gathered there and destroyed by the torch of the English border ranger, Rogers.[3]

The great linguist, Cardinal Mezzofanti, gave some attention to the study of the Indian languages of North America. He had collected a number of manuscripts written in these languages, and of those of the Algonquian nations nine are in the Biblioteca Communale at Bologna. Others are in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele at Rome, in the library of the University of Bologna, and in other Italian libraries. Included in the collection of the cardinal is an unfinished dictionary, of which there are more than 10,000 slips.

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[1] See the Am. Cath. Quar. Review, vol. xviii., No. 72, p. 698, October, 1893.

[2] Oka is about 42 miles from Montreal, and is reached in summer by boat from the latter city; a visit to this ancient Indian mission will amply reward the tourist.

[3] The St. Francis mission may be reached in summer by boat from Montreal. It is a place of resort by Montreal people and a picturesque region.

There are four Algonquian manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, one of which is claimed to have been written as early as 1613,[1] but the author is unknown.

There were, undoubtedly, many valuable manuscripts among the collections of the Jesuits, whose property and library at Rome was sequestered in 1773, the location of which remains to be discovered. The manuscripts of Father White, which we have mentioned as having been "boxed up and removed to a place of safety" during the Italian troubles of 1832; the loss of President Jefferson's manuscripts; the capsizing of Father Jacker's canoe in Lake Michigan, by which his Chippewa manuscript revision of Baraga's dictionary, upon which he had labored for twenty years, was lost; and the burning of Father Aubéry's collection of fifty years at the mission of St. Francis at Pierreville, Canada, are incidents illustrating the dangers to which manuscript property may be exposed.

A very important collection of the manuscripts of the Jesuits of the ancient *régime* of Canada is probably in the archives of the Jesuit College of St. Mary, Montreal.

Father Arthur E. Jones, archivist, has been, as stated, for some years at work on a history of his order in Canada, from the earliest period to the death of Father Casot, last of his illustrious line, in 1800.

When this work appears we may learn many facts, in this connection, heretofore unpublished. We were shown by Father Jones, three years ago, some rare manuscripts, among which were the maps outlined by Father Marquette and others during the seventeenth century.

The McGill College of Montreal has two manuscripts, one of which, by Father Du Jaunay, we have described. The Seminaire St. Nicolet, at Montreal, has two, and the Public Library at Toronto two.

These are probably all the Canadian institutions possessing Algonquian manuscripts.

In the United States, one or more are in the libraries of Harvard, Lenox, American Phil. Society of Philadelphia, John Carter Brown Library; several in the Ethnological Bureau, Department of the Smithsonian Institution; others are owned by Major James W. Powell and the compiler, James Constantine Pilling, of the latter bureau; several in the library of Wilberforce Eames, Brooklyn; some rare and valuable are in the library of Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.; Mr. G. B. Grinnell, of New York City; Rev. M. C. O'Brien, of Bangor, Maine; Colonel John Mason

[1] Rudiments of the Micmac language.

Brown, of Louisville, Ky.; and Albert Gallatin, of New York. Many of the manuscripts mentioned above, however, are anonymous, but their origin can be traced to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Father Vetromile, of Biddeford, Maine, who is the author of several Indian Prayer-books in the languages of the Penobscot, the Micmac, the Abnaki, and the Etchemin Indians of Maine, living in the communion of the Catholic Church, has had, during his philological and missionary labors, in his possession, temporarily, several ancient manuscripts, but these have probably been described in the foregoing notices.[1]

It is to the credit of the Catholic Church that the first collegiate institution established in North America was the Jesuit College, of Quebec, which was founded in 1635, one year before that of Harvard. The site of this establishment was on an elevated position, comprising six acres, overlooking the surroundings, both land and waters.

It may be claimed for this ancient seat of learning, that it was the cradle of the civilization and evangelization of the Algonquian nations of the east, and many of the west and northwest.

Under its roof had been arranged many important treaties, which were subsequently elaborated, ratified and confirmed by ruling Indian nations and the Governor-General of New France. From the portals of this college went forth the pioneer Jesuit explorers and missionaries, whose discoveries made known to the world the great regions of the west and southwest, which constitute at the present day so much of the realm of the American Republic. For a century or more the College of Quebec was the abode of many of the most distinguished scholars of that early epoch in North American history, of venerable priests, and of heroic missionaries.

It became, in time, the nursery of the priesthood of the See of Quebec; and in it was spent the probationary terms of some of the members of the Company of Jesus, who had come to America before their ordination.

In its library was deposited the reports, maps, and the written details of missionary work during the first century of its existence, which included the most important periods in the history of this work.

With the conquest of Canada, a century and a quarter after the foundation of the college, the political control of New France re-

[1] Mr. Pilling devotes five octavo pages to the description of the religious books published by Father Vetromile in the language of the Indian nations named in the text. Dating from 1856 until 1880, there are eight of these books. In connection with Vetromile, see Fr. Ciquard, pp. 556, 557, in addenda of Algonquian Bibliography.

verted to an alien power bitterly opposed to the Catholic Church, and especially to the Jesuit order.

After Amherst had completed this conquest and had returned to England, he petitioned George III. for a grant of the estates of the Jesuits in Canada as a reward for his services to the British Crown. Although favorably inclined, the monarch did not readily accede to Amherst's request; but in 1770, upon a renewal of his petition, the King referred the matter to the Royal Council, who reported favorably, and a grant was authorized of what might be legally granted.

This action brought the question before the law lords, who were in no haste to carry out his Majesty's wishes, and who called for reports and details from Canada.

In the meantime Amherst continued to petition the King, and after eighteen years' delay, a royal commission was appointed in Canada to ascertain what part of the estates might be available for a grant. To expedite the work of this commission, Amherst agreed to pay all its expenses. This was in 1788.

The general died, however, without having obtained the coveted prize, but his family continued to urge the claim. In face of the treaty of the cession of Canada, confiscation of property devoted to educational and religious purposes could not be legally accomplished; under the pressure of adverse influence brought to bear upon the king however, the dishonorable project of procuring possession of the estates by escheat to the Crown, was inaugurated by inhibiting the Jesuits in Canada to add to their number, so that when the last survivor would have ceased to exist, the officers of the crown would take possession of all their estates.

The days of the College of Quebec were thus numbered; and as early as 1778 the fathers were obliged to suspend their classes outside, and their archives were all concentrated in the college.

The dawn of the nineteenth century opened with but a solitary Jesuit left at the college or in Canada; this was the venerable Father John Joseph Casot, who was rector and father superior of himself, but administrator and controller of the estates of his order in Canada, estimated to be worth at the time over $2,000,000. Father Casot had made a generous use of the surplus income of the property under his control, and for years his donations for charitable and religious purposes in Quebec and Montreal had been extensive. He was very old, and with the month of March, 1800, his earthly career was apparently approaching its term. In the meantime the minions of the law in Quebec were keenly watching the flickering light soon to be extinguished, but, impatient to secure the spoils, they would not permit the venerable missionary to depart in peace, but with indecent haste the High

Sheriff of Quebec invaded the college on March 8th and placed seals upon its contents and effects, not sparing the room in which the last survivor of his order of the old *régime* was lying while calmly awaiting his call to his eternal reward. This came March 16, 1800. All the property of the Jesuits in Canada was taken possession of by the officers of the crown, but the family of Lord Amherst never realized a dollar out of the spoil. No more unsavory chapters in the history of British rule in Canada can be found than the proceedings, which in their process destroyed the oldest institution of learning in North America; deprived the Indian nations of their most influential missionaries, and diverted from their prescribed uses the lands and properties donated by generous and pious individuals for the education of Canadian and Indian youth. The professional integrity of the Law Lords and the firm stand taken by British statesmen to uphold the honor of the British government by adhering to the principles of the treaty guaranteeing the freedom of the Catholic religion to the conquered people of Canada, thwarted the intrigues of bigots and boodlers during thirty years. The official documents and collateral history of this period have been carefully transcribed, and these are on file, and may be consulted in the archives of the Dominion of Canada at Ottawa.[1]

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[1] It may prove agreeable to our readers, if we divert their attention from the main subject of this article, while we recall an incident which occurred at a corresponding period with the events we have just related. It is a notable example of the equitable dealing of British merchants, having no sympathy with the Catholic Church nor with the members of the Company of Jesus. For two centuries the British East India Company was the financial power of the commerce of the East.

It was the trust company whose fiduciary operations embraced billions of capital, and whose record is comparatively free from serious blemish. It was one of the greatest financial powers of the eighteenth century and controlled by British merchants in London.

We quote from the historian of the Jesuit order:

"Les Jesuites en Chine étaient missionaires et astronomes; ils travaillaient au salut des âmes et à la conquéte des sciences.

"Les Frères coadjuteurs de l'ordre devinrent médecins. Bernard Rhodes et Pierre Fraperie se distinguerènt surtout dans cette faculté. Ils avaient commencé par les pauvres; leur réputation grandit comme leur charité; èt lorsque l'empereur se trouva dans un état désepéré, les médecins Chinois eurent recours à Rhodes, comme au dernier moyen de l'art. Il traita Kang Hi, il lui rendit la santé. Le monarque etait généreux, enfin de reconnaitre un pareil bienfait il envoya aux Jésuites des lingots d'or dont la vente produisit une somme de deux cent mille francs. La destinée de cette argent a quelque chose de si honorable pour la Compagnie anglaise des Indes, que nous croyens devoir raconter le fait en peu des mots. Les superieurs des Missions avaient placé cette somme sur la Compagnie anglaise, a la seule condition que la rente annuelle seront appliquée à tous Jésuites de Chine et des Indes que se trouveraient dans le besoin.

"Au moment de la destruction de l'ordre de Jésus, la Compagnie anglaise fut tenté de suivre l'example que les princes catholiques lui donnaient; elle confisqué les 200,-

It has been stated that three valuable manuscripts are in the possession of surgeon-major Neilson, of Kingston, Canada; these were purchased by his father, the Honorable John Neilson, with a number of other works, when the library of the college of Quebec was sold at auction by the sheriff, in 1800. We have also mentioned that many ancient missionary manuscripts are held as heirlooms by old families in Canada, and we thus end our description of the depositories of the Algonquian manuscripts, as far as has been ascertained.

The sale of the archives and library of the College of Quebec occurred at a period in the history of the Catholic Church when most of her opponents, and probably a considerable number within her fold, believed that her dissolution was imminent. The armed heel of Napoleon was upon the neck of her venerable Pontiff. The autonomy of the Papal States had been ended by the French conqueror, whose soldiers from the faubourgs of Paris ruled Rome. The learned bibliophiles and collectors of *Americana* of modern times had not been born, and there was no eager crowd of intelligent purchasers assembled to dispute for the acquisition of the rare books and rarer manuscripts which made up the most valuable collection of *Americana* the world has ever known.

It is sad to reflect how widely this collection of American missionary and scientific lore was scattered; for there is reliable evidence that such was the result of this sale. Nor is it improbable that the quarto leaves of Indian philological manuscripts served the épicier of Quebec for years to wrap his sugar, his candles and his soap, when these were sold to his customers; that the octavo

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000 francs, et cessa d'en servir les intérêts, pour les consacrer à l'entretien des hospitaux. Les Jésuites etaient supprimés comme société, mais, individuellement ils se livraient aux soins de l'apostolat dans les Indes. Ils nommérent un député pour reclamer à Londres auprès de la cour des directeurs. Leurs réclamations furent accueillies avec solicitude, et les directeurs écrivirent à leurs mandataires que si les autres gouvernements avaient commis un faute grave contre le droit des gens, ce n'était pas une raison pour la Compagnie des Indes de les imiter en violant les engagements les plus sacrés."

"Les directeurs ajoutaient qu'en considération des services que les Jésuites de Pondichérry rendaient à leurs Indiens et aux Anglais, la Compagnie avait décidé que la somme sarait conservé intact, et la rente exactement payée jusqu à la mort du dernier missionaire Jésuite.

"Elle ordonait en même temps le remboursement des trois années d'arrearages. Ainsi, les Hérétiques croyaient, autant dans l'intéret de l'humanite que dans celui de la justice, devoir laisser aux enfants de Loyola, leurs adversaires la fortune dont les souverains catholiques les depouillaient. En 1813, tous les Jésuites de Péking et de Pondicherry étant morts la Propagande de Rome décida, malgré les instances de la Congrégation des Missions Etrangères, que cette somme serait appliquée aux Lazaristes de la Chine."

"*Histoire Religieuse Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus.* J. Crétineau-Joly, Tome v., deuxiême édition. Paris, p. 42."

and smaller leaves were used to light the fires during winter mornings, or to be used by the barber on which to wipe the lather from his razor while performing his tonsorial art upon the faces of the officers of the garrison of Quebec.

How much of this literary material was picked up by peddlers from "the States," and carried to the paper mills on the Genesee and Mohawk Rivers, is uncertain; but it was probably considerable, as some of it was found and identified. One fact tells of the general result, and this fact is, that the number of books or manuscripts whose original custody may be traced to the library of the College of Quebec is decidedly small.[1]

The "Bibliography of the Algonquian Language" is, in our opinion, the greatest of Pilling's works. It is comprehensive from the beginning of the seventeenth century down to 1891. It is

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[1] The College of Quebec had long been used as a soldiers' barracks, having in one corner the office of the town major, and the officers of the garrison had their library adjoining. The Honorable P. B. Casgrain, M.P., of Quebec, wrote us, March 17, 1890, that twelve views of the principal buildings in Quebec were, by Act of Parliament, taken in 1761. These were 20 by 12½ inches large, and include the Jesuits' college and church. "The college," he writes, "was demolished in 1878, under the de Boucherville ministry. Lieutenant-Governor Létellier de Saint Just, who was opposed to this act of vandalism, caused a plan of the college to be drawn before its demolition." The views referred to by Mr. Casgrain are in the library of the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa.

Father Arthur E. Jones, S.J., of Montreal, states that the destruction of the college was effected by a series of intrigues, the true motives of which were held back, and the vain pretext that it was dangerous was put forward.

He subsequently quotes from M. Faucher de St. Maurice from his *Relation de ce qui s'est passé*, etc., Quebec, 1879," and who was an eye-witness to the whole proceedings. "Pendant quelques années, les murs silencieux du vieux collège des Jésuites semblèrent se recueillir, jusq' au jour où, la charité revenant frapper à la porte des cellules des pères, celles ci se rouvrirent pour donner l'hospitalité à une partie de la population du quartier Montcalm, qu'un incendie venait de chasser de leurs demeures. Erigé pour venir en aide aux souffrances humaines, le college finissait comme il avait commencé. Il redevenait l'asile des malheureux, et les pauvres y trouvèrent un abri, jusqu'à ce que certains philanthropes s'aperçurent que ses murailles étaient dilapidées et dirent qu'elles menaçaient la vie des passants.

Il fallait alors en finir au plus vite. La bande noir s'abattit sur cette relique de notre passe. Mais, chose étrange! Ces pierres branlantes, condamnées comme étant dangereuses résistèrent à la sape et à la mine. Le bélier, la poudre à canon mordirent à peine dans ces assises, où le mortier avait la consistance du granit.

On employa les plus forts exploisibles connu pour avoir raison de ces murs, et encore la maçonerie des frères Le Faulconier, la charpente du frère Ambroise Cauvet, ne semblèrent s'ecrouler qu'a regret, mettant á découvert des ossements que des rapprochements de faits et des coincidences historiques semblent identifier avec ceux du frère Jean Liégois, le grand architect qui avait eu la surintendance du tout, et à qui pendant 214 ans, son œuvre aurait ainsi servi du tombeau.

Dans quelques jours, il ne restera plus rien de ce qui fut, pendant 114 ans. l'Alma Mater de l'instruction dans l'Amérique du Nord. Plus vieux d'une année que le college de Harvard, près de Boston, celui des Jésuites de Québec n'existera plus maintenant que dans les esprits de ceux qui ont la fierté de leur passée.

destined to perpetuate his name in American literature more effectively than any monument in stone the sculptor's art could design. It was during the compilation of this work that Mr. Pilling's health was seriously affected; that, in fact, he became a physical wreck, and doomed to a premature grave. Pilling's work was well done; and it remained with the director of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution to produce this work in such a manner as its importance deserved. Major James W. Powell, upon whom devolved this responsibility, has, we are reluctant to believe, permitted anti-Catholic prejudice to rule, where fairness and justice should have prevailed. All these Indian bibliographies are illustrated, more or less, with fac-similes, which are creditable examples of the work of the skilled artists, and the perfect apparatus at the command of the bureau. In the Algonquian there are eighty-two fac-similes. Fifty-three of these represent the title-pages and specimen leaves of printed books appertaining to the Puritanic era of missionary labor among the thirty-two Indian nations of New England, and pointing to the dismal failure of this work, and the extinction of these unfortunate nations. There are other fac-similes of the title-pages of books connecting with more modern missionary work among the Algonquian nations, and many fine examples of the historical and geographical publications of the seventeenth century.

But in all these eighty-two illustrations of what belongs to Algonquian bibliography, there are only eight fac-similes of the title-pages or specimen leaves of the books of Catholic missionaries.

There are none of Baraga; there are none of Charlevoix, while the contemporary books of that Gascon renegade, Lahonton, has seven. There are none of Cuoq, De Jean, De Leage, Durocher or of Jacker. Nor of the "Relations" of Lejune, 1634, '35, '36; of Lescarbot, who was not a missionary, 1609; of Masse, of the Cramoisy titles of Dr. Shea, nor of his earlier works, nor of Vetromile. How attractive would have been these fac-similes had Major Powell reproduced one or more of the pages of Rasles' manuscript Abnaqui dictionary? Some specimen leaves from the Illinois dictionary, in the collection of Dr. Trumbull, of Hartford; some of the leaves of the quaint and ancient manuscripts in the archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, and of the library of the University of Laval; of the most unique of such relics at the mission of Lac des deux Montagnes; and at the Abnaqui mission of St. Francis, at Pierreville. It would also be interesting to see a few leaves in the handwriting of Fathers Allouez and Silvy reproduced from the manuscripts in the possession of Surgeon Major Neilson, of Kingston. With the admirable facilities at the command of the

Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, exact fac-similes of these leaves could have been taken.

As these reproductions would have been studied, the personality of the learned and distinguished men who produced the originals, would be recalled to our minds more vividly, as also their surroundings, and the times and purpose of their labors.

While so much of this bibliography relates to the missionary works of the Catholic priests, and to the printed works of Catholic authors, the allotment of eight fac-similes out of eighty-two to the preponderating element originating the material, cannot be accounted for otherwise than we have reluctantly been compelled to claim.

Since we have written these lines, intelligence has come to us of the death of James Constantine Pilling, July 26, 1895, at his country home at Olney, Maryland, in his 49th year. If we have failed to accord him a greater measure of credit for his immortal works it has not been from want of appreciation, but because of the limited space at our disposal. May his soul rest in peace.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

LEO XIII. AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH—RECENT WORK IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY.

THE development of historical science at the present epoch is simply amazing; indeed, it would be hard to decide whether the human mind is now more actively employed in turning the great modern discoveries to practical uses for the amelioration of our condition, or in endeavoring to solve the enigmas of the past. This activity is unparalleled in the annals of our race; it is at once to us a subject of admiration and a pledge of future progress.

In certain countries—France, for instance—there is, probably, not a single Department which is not provided with several *Comités Archéologiques*—unpretentious associations which publish a constant supply of monographs that, later on, will be invaluable to the writer of general history. Living in a generation to which the past has committed so many secrets, and proud of the progress we have made, we are desirous of measuring the distance already traversed, that we may thereby be cheered on to fresh conquests. Or, perhaps, having learned by experience that the vigorous minds of our fathers have not, after all, left everything to be done by us, we wish to become better acquainted with bygone times, with a view to imitate whatever excellence may be found in them; or it may be that, in our love of psychological problems, we affect the ability to penetrate into the intimate feelings of personages who have played a prominent part on the world's stage, and make them, so to say, live their lives over again together with us—in a word, we wish to deal with *men*, not simply string together a series of *facts*. Or, finally, it is, perhaps, that our thirst for truth of every kind, our familiarity with severer methods, and the more facile, certain and abundant means of investigation at our command, have caused us to introduce, here as elsewhere, greater precision, more rigid criticism and circumspection. Blind apologies and fanatical calumnies we reject with equal scorn, and to history, purified from the least trace of legend, we purpose to erect, on the basis of original documents, an enduring temple.

To facilitate and accelerate this wide survey of historical questions, governments have, in praiseworthy emulation, placed at the disposal of their respective Ministers of Public Instruction the subsidies necessary for the classification, study and publication of the most insignificant documents hidden away in the most unimportant places. In consequence of this action—to refer to France

alone—we find that collections have appeared such as *Documents Inédits de l'Histoire de France*,[1] or the *Inventaire des Archives Départementales, communales and Hospitalières de la France.* The same impulse has given birth to the *Inventaire Gênéral des Richesses d'Art de la France;* for art finds many a point of contact with the domain of history. A further beneficial result has been the importance acquired by *l'Ecole des Chartes* of Paris, etc.

These are things widely known, but what is less generally acknowledged, and what Catholics cannot too strongly insist upon, is the impetus given to historical research by His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII. on that day when, brushing aside certain scruples, which, however worthy of respect in their time, are now deemed exaggerated, he threw wide open the doors to the Archives of the Vatican. We fear not to repeat here what so many before us have affirmed: that that day was the greatest in the annals of our century, as well for its consequences as for its having been so unexpected.

We pray the reader to weigh for a moment the value and meaning of these words, *The Archives of the Vatican!* At times the Popes have been the directors of peoples; again, they have been simply factors in the great international life; but in either case how many precious documents, as the result of their unique position, have found their way to the Eternal City! To give any just account of the value of this vast treasure-house, far exceeds the powers of any one man; it would be the life-task of many and very skillful specialists. Hence the writer makes no pretence of treating this question exhaustively within the limits of the present article, nor does he wish to pose as a Columbus for those who seek a world of things inedited; his aim is but to cast a glance, as it were, over this vast treasury, and point out how greatly indebted to Leo XIII. are those who are now ransacking it.

Assuredly, one would conceive a clearer idea of the character of the Vatican Library if, as has been said, he did but call to mind the *rôle* played in the history of the world by the Head of the Catholic Church; but how would its importance grow upon him if, passing simply to Rome, he were to run over the list of the principal publications that have been, so to speak, born in the Vatican, or read the list of the illustrious savants who, to consult its treasures, have not hesitated to travel great distances! After a Mabillon and a Montfauçon came a Mommsen, a Niebuhr, a Pitra, a de Rossi, a Pertz, a Sickel. There are to be found shelves filled simply with *catalogues* of manuscripts which the searcher would

[1] Herein are to be found the complete *Correspondance du Card. Richelieu;* the *Chroniques des Religieux de St. Denys*, etc.

have to run over. That alone of Confalonieri (1628–38), who drew up a list of the files of papers relating chiefly to political or territorial questions, which, in his time, were to be found in the Castle San Angelo, would furnish material for many days' reflection. But, better still, could one but command the keys of those venerable book-cases, and ransack their contents at leisure, on what precious relics could he lay his hand! Not to mention their artistic wealth, such as the "Breviary of Matthias Corvinus," illuminated by Attavante (fondo d'Urbino, No. 112); or the *Ceremonial* executed for Boniface IX. (f. lat., 3747); or the superb selection of the works of St. Augustine, made for the immortal Nicholas V. (lat., 501); or the "Bible with Glossary" of the Avignonese Clement VII. (lat., 45), he would find literary and critical treasures, such as the famous Greek codex of the Septuagint, called *Vaticanus*, 1209, or *Virgil, romanus*, 3867, or the famous palimpsest, through which, hidden by the Sermons of the Bishop of Hippo, Cardinal Mai discovered the "Republic" of Cicero. And again—for marvels crowd upon us—there is the Canzionere (autograph) of Petrarch, the "Terence" of Bembo, and the useful and curious autograph works of St. Thomas, worthy of veneration indeed, but to all appearances undecipherable. Then, again (in quite a different style), and just beside the beautiful volume, "Defensio Fidei," signed by the hand of King Henry VIII. himself, is to be seen a little collection of the love-letters of this monarch to Anne Boleyn.

But not to delay over these and similar surprises, there are unnumbered documents to be studied; for example, those which, in cases of contest, establish the exact rights of the temporalities of the Holy See: thanks to these, Father Theiner has been enabled to publish three folios of diplomas concerning this important subject. There are also to be examined the Archives of the *Camera Apostolica*, and a large portion of those of the *Dataria*, the rest of which still remain at the Lateran; those, moreover, called of the *Guarda-Roba;* those of the *Cancellaria;* those of the *Secretariate of State*, containing the enormous correspondence with the various *Nunciatures;* numerous accounts of *Conclaves*, assemblies about which, and, at times, within which, diplomacy was, of old, wont to weave so many curious intrigues; hosts, also, of letters of Popes to monarchs and the most distinguished cardinals; correspondence of great personages and of famous heretics, Luther, for instance; the original *Liber Censuum*, that is, the register of the revenues of the Holy See; the diaries of the *Magistri Cærimoniarum* (the arbiters of etiquette), the most notable being the *Diarium of J. Burkhardt*, that close student of the life of Alexander VI., a journal less slanderous than unfriendly rumor had re-

ported it, but, at any rate, very interesting in establishing famous questions of precedence, the movements of ambassadors, etc. We might also cite the documents which make known the relations between certain Popes and artists; those which pertain to the *Missions* among the heathen; the preparatory labors of the Benedictines of St. Maur for their edition of the Councils of France; in short, a fund so immense that the *Varia politicorum*, a portion collected under Clement IX., occupies no less than twelve large chests! a fund from which Cardinal Mai has drawn matter for ninety large volumes of inedited texts relating to the two antiquities, as his old-time predecessor, Baronius, had found therein nearly all the literary and diplomatic information contained in his "Annals."

If figures are desired, the *fondo latino* of the Library, irrespective of the Archives, contains nearly eleven thousand manuscripts, and the collection of letters or papal petitions, thirteen thousand in folio! M. V. Forcella, in 1879, filled four large volumes with the Catalogue of the Vatican MSS. having relation to the history of Rome alone.

Even young America can find here rich gleanings for her history: and we would be happy to make this publicly known, had not everybody noticed, at the Chicago Exposition, in the building which reproduced the Franciscan Convent of La Rabida, at Palos, that collection of precious American documents of each of which, for that occasion, only two copies had been photographed from the original, at the printing office of the Vatican. What could be more suggestive than the very title of that work, which we give here entire:

Documenta selecta e tabulario secreto Vaticano, quæ Romanorum Pontificum erga Americæ populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paullo post insulas à Christophero Columbo repertas testantur phototypia descripta. Typis Vaticanis 25 exemplaria ita sunt adornata, ut illustrioribus tantum bibliothecis distribuerentur, 1893.

Then, on the first page, we read the Dedication:

Leoni XIII. Pont. Max.
quod singulari animi benevolentia votis annuens
administratorum Reip. Americæ
Septentr.
præclara quædam specimina Romanarum artium
et recondita tabularii Vaticani monumenta
phototypice expressa
Chicagam transmisit an. MDCCCXCIII
I. C. Heywood Americanus
e cubiculariis S.S.D.N. ense et pallio distinctis
cui ipsi republicæ moderatores
huius rei procurandæ officium demandaverant
tenue hoc grati animi donum
libens merito offert.

This folio is in every way remarkable; see, moreover, how interesting the general import of the documents which it includes:

I.—De episcopatu Gardensi in Gronlandia.

II.—De finibus inter Hispaniæ et Lusitaniæ regna constituendis (in America).

III.—De præconibus Evangelii et episcopis transmittendis.

IV.—Commendatur Bartholomæus et Didacus Colon.

One would scarcely notice the expression *tum ante*, included in the title of the volumes; yet it shows that, long before Columbus trod American soil, Greenland had been discovered by Scandinavian sailors, most probably at the beginning of the eleventh century, then evangelized, under King Olav II.;[1] that a bishopric, that of Gardar, had been created at the beginning of the twelfth century: this is attested in the writing of Pope Innocent II. dated 1133. Now, this is but a specimen of the ten documents of this kind included in the first of the series above-mentioned; all, from year to year, inform us of the state of the Church in northern America antecedent to the arrival of Columbus. We can form some idea of the amount of information relative to every country which the Vatican Archives can furnish, since, regarding a country so distant, and an epoch so remote, it can present such important documents. Those that concern the line of demarcation of Alexander VI., 1493, are not less important, since by it was constituted the permanent political condition of those regions. They enable us, moreover, to reject the story that poetical fiction still teaches in schools, of a line energetically traced by the very hand of the Pope on a map that had been presented to him: a map the *original* of which several libraries boast of possessing, as truthfully as do those treasuries that claim they hold the sword of Roland.[2]

The fact is that this famous line was made only most prosaically, by three diplomatic documents, which form Nos. 11, 12, 13 of the volume in question. The third series, relating to the first missionaries, encloses a score of papers: here again the legend of the Franciscan Bernardo Monticastri da Todi, as first apostle of the West Indies, must be rejected, in favor of the Benedictine Bernard Boyl;[3] and the letter of Alexander, dated June 23d, 1493, confer-

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[1] *Cf.*, Ehrle, S. J., *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1894, iv., heft.

[2] The second map of America, that of Albert Cantino, drawn in 1502, that is to say, one year before the death of Alexander VI., is the first to bear this line.

[3] At that time a Minim. The order of Minims was as yet but little known; a circumstance which caused an error in the registration even of the paper in question. The Secretary wrote "of the Minorites" an error which Wadding in his *Annales Minorum* has not a little contributed to spread. See also the *Bullarium* of Fr. Hernæz, S J., another work which shows what treasures can be drawn from the Vatican. It is entitled: *Coleccion de bulos. breves y otros documentos relativos à la Iglesia d'América y Filipinas*, Bruselas, 1879, 2 vols., 4to.

ring on him his powers, opens the third series of our phototypes: those of the Franciscans come next and are quite numerous. On the 7th of June, 1526, Pope Clement VII. sent to the General of that Order a document (No. 22, p. 4), in which he urges him strongly to visit the new missions, doubtless because they had great need of it: No. 23 leaves, moreover, no doubt on this point.

The information contained in the above cited documents proves —and it is the point we are aiming at—how true is that saying of an indefatigable investigator: "The Keys of St. Peter are still, at this present time, the Key of the Middle Ages," and how much meaning the very name of the Vatican Library conveys to the cultured mind.

Formerly, before the Reformation, at a time when the Church had to take less precaution against the malicious interpretation of certain documents, under Nicholas V., that true and liberal founder of the present library, access to these treasures, nay, the loan of them was very easy; for the books of the Holy Father might, for good reasons, be carried away by those who needed them. But, little by little, formalities came into being, difficulties increased, and only some few privileged ones among the literati were allowed to draw from these sources. What we have said applies especially to the last two centuries, for in the time of Montaigne, one could still, easily enough, find access, if not to all the archives, at least to the library of MSS. "Every one sees," says the philosopher in his *Journal de Voyage* (1581), "and draws from it what he wishes; it is open almost every morning; and, under the guidance of a gentleman, I was taken everywhere and allowed to use whatever I wished."

But, following the footsteps of his ancient predecessors of the Renaissance, Leo XIII. has decided to be no longer a miserly holder of the domain of Universal History, the Sphinx ever seated on her jewels to keep them out of sight. Assured, moreover, that, as a great man has said, "The Church needs only the truth"; equally persuaded that in our epoch, at once so severely critical and so humanely compassionate, it is not difficult to establish the desired distinction between certain personages and the eternal principles which they represented, particularly when they belonged to an institution so beneficent as is the Church, Leo XIII. has willed that his Archives be open *at all times* and *to everybody*. For him, no more *segreta* or *segretissima*, stern words, the restrictive import of which went on, day by day, increasing. In a word, and to speak a language that will be well understood by the practical people of the United States, he had there *capital* which should no longer remain unproductive. Now, see how, according to the very words of Leo XIII. at the beginning of his Pontificate, this is to be

extended. "We desire nothing," says his Holiness, "save to bring about a reformation which is due to the honor of the Church and which favors the progress of true science. We know how ardent in historical research are the men of our time, and how eagerly they strive to reach the hidden causes of events. Nor are we ignorant that the enemies of religion have abused these tendencies to obscure the light of history, giving credence to inventions the most false, calumniating the innocent, and casting hatred and obloquy on men worthy the admiration of all posterity.

"Now, utterly to destroy such falsities, nothing is more proper, nothing more efficacious, than to bring them face to face with the truth itself as revealed in the irrefragable testimony of texts and documents.[1] And as the Vatican is, in this respect, admirably provided, we have judged that if we wished to have knowledge and strength to discover the truth to all, to defend Catholic institutions and combat error, it was necessary to avail ourselves of resources of every kind."

And, in truth, was it not well to return openly to the traditions of Nicholas V., who had been so lavish of toil and money to found a rich historical centre "for common use," as was said "of the Roman Court and the savants of all lands?" This fact Card. Capecelatro, "Bibliotecario di S. R. C.," in an address to Leo XIII. at the time of his jubilee, declared to His Holiness, saying that the measures taken by him "recalled the glorious days of the illustrious pontiffs who, even in times the most troubled and warlike, had shone none the less brilliantly by their knowledge, and had thus rendered to the Church and to civil society most signal services."

Nothing will stop Leo XIII. in his vast design—neither certain representations, nor expense, nor the restriction of his palace. "It is certain, most Holy Father," said the same cardinal to him again last year, "that such researches will assuredly reveal in popes, bishops, and priests weaknesses and errors hitherto concealed. But you are profoundly convinced—and rightly so—that the truth of Christ has need neither of subterfuges nor lies, which would tend, indeed, but to obscure it. The Church, of which you are the infallible Head, shines with such a brilliancy of truth, of beauty, and of goodness, that the shadows of our imperfections cannot harm it. A grand and courageous love of truth, then, it seems to me, characterizes all that your Holiness has accomplished in favor of the Library and Archives of the Vatican. The beneficent measures which you have taken are not destined exclusively

[1] It is thus that writers have been able to refute the calumny of the torturing and of the frightful prison? (the Villa Medici) of the great Galileo (Grisar, S J., Galileistudien); and also certain exaggerations regarding Alexander VI.

for Rome and Italy; all who love study, historical science especially, may, without distinction even of creeds, avail themselves of its advantages."

And, in truth, we now see, elbowing one another in the Vatican, and day by day growing more numerous, the Catholic, the sectarian, and the rationalist. They live on the best terms in the world, not without profit mutual and multiplied for all. The Pope was not mistaken. He does, indeed, possess treasures, and M. Pastor, the celebrated professor of Innsbruck, has been able to say in the Preface to his "History of the Popes" that, "thanks to the generous opening of the Archives, due to the initiative taken by His Holiness Leo XIII., the History of the Popes of the Fifteenth Century, as well as of those that succeeded them, will necessarily have to be re-written." Another result has been the foundation of societies of literati, continually being established around the Vatican, for its amicable despoilment. Beside the *Ecole Francaise*, definitively constituted in 1875, which has obtained the favor of publishing the Register of Innocent IV., are to be found the Institutes of Austria and of Prussia, of the envoys of the Royal Academy of Bavaria, of the *Goerres-Gesellschaft*, of the Public Record Office, and others. Notice, again, the publication of a host of special works, all more or less based on the Vatican MSS. Mgr. Carini, the regretted Prefect, whose recent inopportune death Rome still laments, and who will remain, for many reasons, forever to be regretted (for the appointment of the erudite and not less obliging Father Ehrlé, S. J., is unfortunately only provisory), was able, without any pretence at research, to draw up a list of more than one hundred and fifty solid works whose production had been due, in some sort, to this initiative of the Holy Father; yet, in that list, through modesty, he has failed to note thirty learned pamphlets, the substance of which had been drawn from the compartments confided to his care, many of them, indeed, the product of his own pen. The staff of the Library have not, in this regard, been behindhand; they follow in the footsteps of Card. Pitra, of some of whose works we have already spoken. We may here also mention his "Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta" (1865–68), and those editions of the Greek hymn-writers whence he first deduced the laws of "Greek Hymnography"—works which won for him the office of cardinal-librarian.

Very Rev. Abbé Costa-Luzzi, the present vice-librarian, has continued, with discernment (an observation which applies to all the labors of this pontificate), the "Nova Bibliotheca Patrum" of Card. Mai, predecessor of Card. Pitra. He has also continued the phototypical edition of the *Codex Vaticanus Grec.* 1209 of the Bible," a little book which costs only one thousand francs! Again,

to him we are indebted for an edition of the same MS. with modern characters, issued by the Vatican press, and worth seven hundred francs; and he has introduced to the general public, by means of a perfect reproduction, that curious and important *Patmos Evangelistarium* marked 3785, *written in letters of gold and silver on a purple ground*, a striking testimony of the profound respect shown by our fathers for the Sacred Scripture. But, more than all, he has made easy an edition which should bring together in beautiful unity the fragments which are scattered at the present time in the Vatican, in London, and in Vienna. Let us here add, that to him we owe—to the ruin of his eyes—the palimpsest fragments of the Geography of Strabo.

Father Denifle, O. P. sub-archivist, who had already published "Die Päpstlichen Bände des XIII. Jahrhunderts," has just brought out, in collaboration with Mgr. Chatelain, the interesting *Cartulaire de l'Université de Paris.*

One of the *Scriptores*, O. Marucchi, famous pupil of the famous de Rossi, in 1888, catalogued and described a valuable collection of Egyptian papyri possessed by the Vatican Library, which catalogue he presented at the Oriental Congress of Stockholm, to which he had been sent by Leo XIII.

Mgr. M. Ugolini, the active president of the Leonine Library, exceedingly well versed in Oriental languages, has also made his mark in *Jacobi Edesseni de fide adversus Nestorium carmen ex Ms. Syriaco Vaticano* 173 *edidit et latinitate donavit M. V.*

M. M. G. Gibelli and G. Brunamonti, under-officers, have produced an interesting inedited report of the "Armament of the Papal troops under Clement XI." Nor must we forget the present eminent provisory prefect Father Ehrlé, author of a large quarto, soon to be followed by a second, on the *Historia bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum, tum Bonifatianae, tum Avenionensis* (*Romae typis Vaticanis*, 1890). Of writers outside the staff we notice, first, E. Müntz, author of "Art at the Papal Court in the XVth and XVIth Centuries; from unpublished documents drawn from Roman Libraries and Archives," one of the gems of the erudite collection made by the Ecole Francaise of Rome, so worthily inaugurated by the Abbé Duchesne's study of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the large edition of which, in two volumes quarto, at the price of two hundred francs, is already exhausted. Other pupils of this school are charged by the French Government to publish from the original Vatican MSS. the numerous *Regesta* of the Popes. Of these, several have already appeared, among which, if the reader's patience will allow him to read a list apparently dry, but, in reality, most interesting, we find, as illustrations of our subject, the Registers of Innocent IV. (1242–54), of Benedict XI.

(1303–4), of Boniface VIII. (1293–1303), of Nicholas IV (1288–92), of Gregory IX. (1227–41), of Clement IV. (1265–68), of Gregory X. and John XXI. (1271–77), of Urban IV. (1261–64), of Nicholas III. (1277–80), of Alexander IV. (1254–61), and of Martin IV. (1281–85), the complete series of Honorius IV. (1285–87). We are sure the above enumeration will not be thought wearisome by one who, in running over it, thinks of the great work being done in the hive which the Holy Father has opened. Father Palmieri, one of the archivists, is charged with explaining the difficulties met with on the way, in which, indeed, he leads by his guide-book, entitled "Ad Vaticani Archivi Romanor. P. P. Regesta Manuductio."

The sympathetic Paul Fabre, another pupil of the *Ecole Francaise*, edited, in 1892, with Introduction and Notes, the *Liber Censuum;* that famous book wherein is to be found inscribed, province by province, the names of the debtors of the Roman Church and the amount of their dues. Collaborating with Müntz, he gave us, also, in 1887, "*The Vatican Library in the Fifteenth Century . . . . a Contribution to the History of Humanism*," wherein we meet (to show the curious as well as the instructive side of the Vatican), besides the catalogue of the library of the great Sixtus IV., the *loan-book* carefully kept by his librarian, the illustrious Platyna, immortalized in that well-known fresco of the Pinacotheque, where Melozzo de Forli has represented him receiving from the Pope the collation of his title. The venerable list begins thus: *Quisquis es qui tuum nomen hic inscribis, ob acceptos commodo libros e bibliotheca Pontificali, scito te indignationem ejus et exccerationem incursurum, nisi peropportune integros reddideris. Hoc tibi denuntiat Platyna, S. Suae Bibliothecarius, qui tantae rei curam suscepit pridie Kal. Mort.* 1475, *Pontif. sui an. III.* He did not fail, as was proper, to give the example himself by writing: "*Ego Platinus ad usum meum accepi ex biblioth. Platonem, de republica, ex membr., in rubeo, I. Mens, Apr.* 1475.—RESTITUTUS." So frequent are these entries that one cannot but conceive a high idea of his intellectual activity; yet they are also proof most eloquent of the treasures he had directly under his hand.

M. Faucon gives us the "*Library of the Popes of Avignon . . . . From the Registers of Accounts and Inventories of the Library of the Vatican.*" We cite this work the more willingly because it opens with an act of gratitude, and his words have so direct a bearing upon our two-fold object that we cannot fail to reproduce them; a son is never too profuse in praising his father.

"Among the different series of documents," says the author, "which the liberal organization given the Vatican archives by his holiness, Leo. XIII., in 1881, has permitted me to consult since that time, none more completely fixed my attention, none seemed

to me more calculated to satisfy seekers of precious sources of discovery, than the abundant collection of registers catalogued now under the head of *Archivio Avignonese*. . . . . What curious and circumstantial accounts of the political conduct, general direction of Christendom, special government of the county Venaissin, relations of the sovereign pontiffs with their relations and domestics as well as with the heads of States! What elements of archæological information on the castles and churches built by their architects; the artists who decorated them; . . . . on the reception of kings and ambassadors; . . . . regarding religious or worldly ceremonies, of which they have been the theatre! . . . . What a clear insight, certified by documents, into the literary taste, the degree of culture and polish; the mental and intellectual condition—in a word, of those popes and their surroundings" (p. viii).

This quotation is, in its way, a panorama of the archives, as well as a eulogy upon him who has thrown them open.

Is any one desirous of new and piquant information regarding those famous Greek savants established in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century, about whom old Audin, in his "Leo X.," has astounded our childhood? Let us take the work of Mr. H. Noiret: "Lettres Inédites de Michel Apostolis, publiées d'après le MSS. du Vatican," etc. Does he prefer the best edition of the MSS. of our dear Greek classics? There is *Le Manuscrit d'Isocrate, Urbinas CXI., de la Vaticane*, by A. Martin. Is he a mystic, desirous of a good text of the *Fioretti* of the seraphic Francis of Assisi? Mr. Amoni Leopoldo offers him his "Flores S. Francisci Assis., Excerpti ex Cod. Vatic. 4354," with, it goes without saying, the famous Italian text; and so on and so on, for it is time to gain breath, that one may go farther.

For now, dear reader, we are going to tell you that the Holy Father himself has become an editor of his treasures. Every one knows that the Pope has at hand two printing offices second to none, not even the most celebrated in the world, in the correctness of their proofs, the beauty and variety of their types: those of the Vatican and the Propaganda. Now it is a well-known fact that the latter began, in 1882, the colossal edition *Opera omnia* of St. Thomas of Aquin; a work which will forever remain one of the chief titles of honor to the grand Pope whose solicitude embraces all things. He, himself, has willed, *motu proprio*, to have drawn from the Capponi Collection the Dantesque Commentary of Fra Giovanni de Serravalle: his historico-juridical Academy prints and puts into use, at the Pope's expense, in the *Studi e documenti di Storia e diritto* materials drawn from the Vatican. We have spoken above of some *Regesta:* the Holy Father has published those also of the great Leo X., Clement V., and Honorius III.

But it was not enough to open his treasures for the general profit; Leo XIII. has, moreover, increased them at every opportunity. To enrich, at the end of the nineteenth century, a library like that of the Vatican was not an easy matter; yet it has been done. Father Ehrlé—having noticed in the Borghese Library a number of MSS. that had come from the collection of Avignon and had passed from the Aldobrandini to whom Clement VIII. belonged, to the Borghese family—informed His Holiness of the fact; and, in 1891, when they were to be sold, they were purchased by him; so that, now, three hundred and seventy-nine venerable wanderers simply find themselves *at home!* Home, likewise, has been brought a *Corpus juris canonici*, with the glossaries of Gregory IX., who, as we know, published the Decretals; these details give the volume the importance of a contemporary commentary; also, a very valuable, and perhaps unique collection of the most famous sermons of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; likewise, an excellent text of the Ecclesiastical History of Cassiodorus, of the twelfth century, with a "History of the Vandal persecution in Africa," by Victor Vitensis: many historical documents, such as the Process of Election of Celestine V. and of Boniface VIII.; an account of all the ecclesiastical provinces, a most careful compilation of the fourteenth century which, it is said, well deserves the honor of publication; also the Conclave of Pius VI. with authentic Commentaries from the hand of a Borghese, Cardinal Scipio. And in another class, we may mention a good and beautiful text of Pliny's "Natural History"; from all of which one sees the variety and interest of the restored property.

It is hard to tell which is the greater act, so to enrich a library already remarkable, or to draw up and have printed for the use of students, a practical and complete catalogue of the treasures already existing. In any case, it is an advantage to other nations, to France particularly, whose printed catalogue of all important treasures is the most advanced; it is an advantage of which the Pope did not wish his learned visitors to be deprived any longer. There were catalogues, some written, some printed, already in existence, such as that of the "Assemani" (1756, Benedict XIV.), but the greater number were, like the latter, too prolix, too incomplete. And precisely because of the trouble so vast a plan required, it was thought better to revise, to modernize, to begin all anew. Hence, by order of Leo XIII., and under the general title of "Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ Codices manuscripti recensiti, jubente Leone XIII., P.M., editi.," there have already appeared by the labors of the two Stevensons, the "Codd. MSS. Palatini græci" (1885), and the "Palat. latini" (1886), the latter revised by the

illustrious de Rossi, who found time and address for everything: he has even enriched it with a dissertation which serves as an historical introduction to all the catalogues of the Vatican; then, in 1888, H. Stevenson gave us the series of the "Codd. MSS. græci Reginæ Suecorum[1] et Pii II."

But to attain the intellectual end, a new organization was necessary; regulations, a large corps of laborers, more extensive apartments were required. The Holy Father did not hesitate because of the expense which the two latter heads necessitated, well convinced that the resources of the "Peter's pence" are given to the sovereign as much as to the Pope, and that the generosity of the faithful finds a legitimate outlet in the diffusion of every species of enlightenment. Nor has he thought it derogatory to their high dignity to limit the Sovereign Pontiffs to narrower quarters, as if he had decided—pardon the expression—that the Church and Science should henceforth have but one and the same dwelling! This may well be said, because the library occupies the very centre of the buildings: it is, as it were, the sovereign surrounded by a grand cortège of dependencies. And as the servant must not be above the master, two large apartments, hitherto reserved to the librarians, were purchased and transformed into a fine, well-lighted hall, just as in the time of Paul V., the Cardinal Librarian had been compelled to give up his private rooms for the foundation of the new *Archivio Romano;* and as, later, after the death of Baronius, the revenues of an abbey devoted to his use, passed, forever, into the funds of this institution. Leo XIII. has, then, but followed the steps of his most illustrious predecessors.

For the Archives, a vast hall has been opened along the Allée des Musées; and two years ago, under that immense, well-known and brilliant Sixtine Library, which visitors behold all adorned with the princely gifts of sovereigns and of nations, was created (in place of an Arsenal) that magnificent library of consultation called the Leonine, destined to be one of the most beautiful and practical creations of this century in the Vatican, regarding which we may apply, and with even better reason, one of the verses ad-

[1] Christina of Sweden who, guided by such men as Vossius, had obtained, in 1650, the collection of the learned Alex. Petau, which, to use the expression of Saumaise, was "the marrow of the Manuscripts of France," that had escaped the ravages of the religious wars. These treasures were bought by Alexander VIII.: The like eulogy might be passed on the collections thus successively incorporated in the Vatican, those of Aldus Manutius (three hundred and two beautiful MSS.), of the University of Heidelberg (1623), called now the *Palatine Library*. It was one of the richest in the world and, as Scaliger, "the literary jewel of Germany," says, it had been formed by the generosity of the Electors, the spoliation of Convents, and the munificence of individuals such as Ulrich Fugger. Again, the library of Duke Frederic de Montefeltro, of Urbino, 1631; that of the family *Altemps*, rich in the purest treasures of the Humanism of the sixteenth century. (See Paul Fabre, *Le Vatican* 3° Partie, 1895).

dressed to Nicholas V, under like circumstances. *Cernitur in celebri bibliotheca loco!* Imagine a hall nearly one hundred and eighty-four feet in length, having a surface of more than three thousand two hundred and seventy-nine feet exclusive of the recesses of windows and doors, which, because of the great thickness of the walls, a point as advantageous in summer as in winter, are quite considerable.

This hall, created by a complete remodeling of the old building, has a beautiful Venetian pavement, a ceiling adorned with paintings in the best Pompeian style on a white ground. It is divided into two equal parts, in one of which we find the Palatine printing-office; in the other the Library of Consultation. It is lighted its whole length, north and south, by many large and lofty windows, which are opposite each other; and in front of these we find as many openings in the partitions which separate the two parts. The open bookcases, from which one may, under surveillance, take or consult at will, reach to the central vault; they are of iron, painted white, edged with gold; in the centre of the room are large tables with catalogues on the ingenious Staderini system. At the eastern end is the imposing statue of the Angel of the Schools, a sumptuous jubilee gift from the Seminarians of Christendom; at the western we find. and in all justice, Ugolini's most artistic bust of Leo XIII. In a word, the architect, Count Fr. Vespignani, has succeeded in forming a most harmonious whole, neither too gay nor severe—indeed, most striking and uncommon.

Destined for general knowledge, as well as for housing the archives already printed, it was necessary that this part should have easy communication with the MSS. and the archives; for it must not be forgotten that the Vatican is, above all, an antiquarian or manuscript library. It should also contain all the great collections. The first requirement is very fully satisfied; let us speak now of the second.

The Vatican was already in possession of a fine stock of encyclopædias. Thanks to Rev. Fr. Ehrlé, the whole of it, together with the books which occupy the part contiguous to the reference library, was carefully removed and, above all, methodically installed. This excellent father, so well informed in regard to all the grand libraries of Europe, understanding better than any one else the ardent desires of the Holy Father, did not hesitate to delay the publication of his second volume—meanwhile so impatiently looked for—that he might correspond as fully as possible to the confidence reposed in him. He was in need, however, of the greater part of the documentary collections printed in our time—that is to say, the best part of the matter.

The administration proposed to different governments an exchange with the productions of the Vatican, but they, far from

being willing to accept a return, esteemed it an honor and a duty to send immediately to Rome the best of the national publications, too happy thus to show their gratitude to the Holy See for the facilities granted to their *literati* installed at Rome. Each gave its portion. France, one of the first, sent the collections we mentioned in the beginning of the article, to which were added the "Bibliothèque" and the "Mélanges" of the Ecole Francaise of Rome, the "Mémoires" and the "Comptes-Rendus" of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, the "Histories of the Crusades" and others. England sent, splendidly bound, the "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland," the publications of the Palæographical Society and the "Calendar of State Papers"; America, also, is found near England; but, unfortunately, her light is still very feeble, and the little there is emanates partly from European sources. From Germany we have the magnificent work of K. Kretschmer, completed for the centenary of Columbus: "Die Entdeckung Amerika's in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Weltbildes" (Berlin, 1892), with a wonderful Atlas containing a considerable number of maps, partly unknown or unpublished, from times preceding or accompanying the discovery. From page 16 we quote a few words in honor of the Vatican: "The author owes thanks especially to MM. the librarians of Italy, who have most amiably seconded his researches, and, above all, to Fr. Bollig, S.J., of the Vatican Library," etc. Kretschmer indicates, at pp. 113, 120, 220, 362, 425, what he here made use of. We have also by a Frenchman, A. Gourd, "Les Chartes Coloniales et les Constitutions des Etats-Unis de l'Amerique du Nord, Paris. Par ordre du gouvernement. Imprimerie Nationale, 1885"; by a Canadian, Abbé C. Tanguay, the "Diction. Génealog. des familles Canad. depuis la fondation de la Colonie jusqu'à nos jours," 1871. Also the "Annals of the National Museum of Mexico," sent by the Director; the first year, 1874, of the "Archivo do Districto Federal, revista de documentos para a historia da Ciudade do Rio-Janeiro"; also the "Annual Report of the American Historical Association" (1891–95), published at Washington, with the "Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the Indian Tribes of the United States," by H. R. Schoolcraft, Philadelphia, 1851. That is about all.[1]

And now see what we are aiming at. There are some people as covetous of books as others are of gold! Yes, we like to dream that having read our modest article, some wealthy American, devoted to the Holy See, will lay at its feet all there is to be found

[1] [Our learned contributor here inserts a note requesting the translator to suggest a number of *Americana* which ought to figure in the Vatican Library, in order that our country should be adequately represented in this great collection. This task the translator refers to more experienced hands.—EDITOR.]

on that side of the ocean of valuable collections, whether in North or in South America, inclusive of that grand, active and noble country, the United States. The dream is so delightful that we pray our Lord it may be realized.

But to continue our search: the German will find here the vast "Monumenta Germaniae historica"; the splendid Viennese publication, Monumenta graphica medii aevi," and the "Kaiserurkunde" of Berlin. Bohemia and Austria-Hungary are richly represented, and Bavaria is, we hear, preparing to send a grand collection. Here the eye is attracted by the large volumes of the "Eidgenössischen Abschiede" of Switzerland; there by twenty volumes of "Ancient Acts of the Courts of Spain"; "Les Coutumes de Belgique," royal gift of that country is not wanting, nor, it goes without saying, the beautiful Italian collection, the "Monumenta historiæ patriae," the "Miscellanea di Storia Italiana," and others. Sweden has sent her collection, made with the greatest intelligence, thanks to the care of M. Annersted, Librarian of the University of Upsal. Let us not leave this hall without drawing the attention of our patient reader—companion of our bird-flight hither and thither—to the "Gallia Christiana," the "Italia Sacra," the "Espagna Sacrada," the "Oriens Christianus," the "Africa Christiana"; then to Martène, Mabillon, Mai, Döllinger and countless others. Add to these a valuable section of the printed catalogues of all European libraries, in which are included those of France, Italy, the British Museum, the Bodleian, the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," the Inscriptiones Christianae (de Rossi), and here we may well add "tutti quanti," all this is the work of less than two years!

Allow us to thank the reader for his patience, but he now sees —and we hope it will be thought some reward for his patience— that the Holy Father's library is *no mean affair*. Rich in historical manuscripts, as we have shown, it is not less so in printed matter of the same class. There, of course, still remain many things to be desired, but with the blessing of God, we hope that this library, even now almost completely equipped in regard to beautiful parchments, will yet become in all respects the finest in the world.

In view of the evidence here adduced, which so eloquently speaks for itself, we have but to say a word, interpreting, we are sure, the thought of the reader; it is that Leo XIII., the Pontiff to whom Rome in particular and the world in general are indebted for such facilities for the study of history, will assuredly take— nay, has already taken—in history a place, a throne, brilliant and immortal.

Rev. E. Soutif, C. S. C.

Rome, February 7, 1895.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT GREECE.

THE schools of ancient Hellas have especial claims to the attention of the student of education. So prominent is the place of the Greeks in the intellectual history of mankind, so brilliant are their achievements in literature, art and science that since the revival of letters they have never ceased to exercise an irresistible fascination over scholars and thinkers. Generation after generation has sat at the feet of the great Hellenic masters; generation after generation has taken them for its teachers and models, seeking to emulate the combination of profound thought and perfection of form which are at once the admiration and the despair of their imitators. How came the Greeks to attain, seemingly without effort, the excellence which distinguishes them as writers and thinkers? No doubt many causes conspired to bring about the wonderful result. But if it be true that the child is father to the man, then among the most important factors must have been the youthful training of the minds, which gave birth to these immortal works of Greek genius. Apart, therefore, from the fact that our own schools owe to the Greeks not only their name but many of their methods and much of their teaching, the subject of Greek education is one of profound interest. This is especially true in our days, when the school question is always with us. Surely, if the Greek schools achieved such brilliant results, it is well worth our while to inquire, what was their character, what their methods of instruction and their discipline?

Unfortunately, we must begin our study with a confession of ignorance. Our knowledge of the Greek schools, it is true, is much fuller than is our knowledge of the schools of ancient Egypt and Babylonia. Still what we know is only a fragment of what we should like to know. Had we only the programme of a single school, such as the private schools of to-day scatter by the hundred among their patrons, we should be able to answer many questions that must now remain unanswered. We have, indeed, in the works of the Greek philosophers their views on many educational questions, on what should be taught, what omitted, what should be taught first, what last, and a hundred other points. But no philosopher and no other writer gives us a picture of a Greek school at work, of the distribution of time, of its classes, if there were any, of the grading of the classes. Besides, it is a fact, perhaps not so very deplorable, that the theories of the philosophers found but scanty application in the schoolroom. It is by no means

safe to infer that, because Plato or Aristotle says that something ought to be introduced in the schools, therefore it really was adopted in practice. The sources of our information are to be found rather in stray remarks of historians, poets and orators, in the genre pictures with which Greek artists often adorned their vases, in the numerous inscriptions brought to light by modern archæologists, than in the pages of the Greek philosophers. From sources like these we cannot expect to reconstruct a full, satisfactory picture of Greek education; but we may put together an interesting if fragmentary mosaic.

Another caution by way of preface. Though Greece was a small country, far smaller than some of the larger states of the Union, it was a country of many states and varied customs. Athens and Thebes were only a few miles apart, and yet a Theban in Athens would be like a Bulgarian in Paris. As regards education, for instance, so far inferior were the Theban schools that Theban parents who looked to the interests of their children often sent them to Athens. Sparta stood in even sharper contrast to Athens than Thebes. Now, most of our knowledge concerning Greek schools is derived from Athenian sources and concerns the schools of Athens. To ascribe to other Greek States conditions that existed in Attica would in many cases lead us into error. When we speak of Greek education, therefore, we should bear in mind that what is usually meant is Athenian education, and that Athens was since the fifth century before Christ the intellectual leader of Hellas. The pictures of Greek schools derived from the sources at our command must, therefore, be greatly toned down, if we wish to have a correct conception of education outside of Attica. Again, we must not place all the non-Attic States on the same educational plane. Corinth and Argos, for instance, were far more advanced than Arcadia. These differences were greater, the earlier the period of which we speak. With the advance of time the commonwealths of Greece gradually became more and more assimilated, and with their political independence disappeared many of their characteristic differences. Under Roman rule, therefore, we may safely admit a growing uniformity in the schools, not only of Greece proper, but throughout the Hellenistic world. In making this statement we do not mean to question the great pre-eminence of Athens, Alexandria, Pergamos, Antioch and Rhodes as centres of learning in the post-Macedonian and Roman periods; but what in modern parlance is called primary education was then very generally and evenly diffused in every part of the Greek world. As education was not on the same level in the different Hellenic States, so it varied at different times in the same commonwealth. In Athens, for instance, the

change was so great that we can with certainty recognize at least two well-marked periods. We can trace the gradual development of education and set forth some of the more important features in which the new education differed from the old.

The oldest teacher mentioned in Greek literature is the Centaur Chiron. He taught Achilles, the hero of Homer's "Iliad," not only the arts of war, but also manliness, honor and reverence for the gods. Singing, too, he taught him and the mastery of Apollo's lyre. So lasting was the fame of this mythical schoolmaster, that even in the days of Pericles the Athenian boys learned by heart a collection of moral precepts that went by the name of Chiron's Proverbs.[1] Chiron, no doubt, is an imaginary character; but the myth of Chiron proves that in Homeric times no little stress was laid on the athletic and musical education of the young Hellenic nobles. In those early days the girls also enjoyed advantages that were denied them afterwards in most Grecian states. Nausicaa, the Phæacian princess, and her companions are represented in the Odyssey as skilled in singing, guitar playing and dancing. That these arts were taught at school Homer gives us no reason to assert. Nevertheless, the importance attached to the physical and mental training of the young Greek nobles in these early ages is a point of no little interest. It throws light on the prominence given to the musical and gymnastic education of the Greek boy in classical times. It explains how Greek education became the well-rounded symmetrical system that has been so often extolled by modern writers on pedagogics. Athletics and music were heirlooms inherited from the heroic times, not features introduced into Greek education by philosophers and theorists.

Homer, we have seen, knows nothing of Greek schools. When they sprang into existence, neither he nor any other writer tells us. If we knew when the Greeks received the alphabet and first learned to write, we might with confidence fix, at least approximately, the time when the first schools arose in Hellas. But, much as modern research has revealed regarding the early history of Greece, on this point it has left us many doubts. The oldest Greek inscription, so far found, was discovered hundreds of miles from the home of the writers. Far away, in Upper Egypt, at Abu Simbel, on one of the colossal statues of himself, erected by Rameses II., were discovered short inscriptions, scratched on the granite by Greek officers in the service of the Egyptian king Psammetichus. They tell us the names of the writers; and, in some cases, their birth-place and their official position in the Egyptian army. We

[1] Χείρωνος ὑποθῆκαι.

note with interest that these bold adventurers were natives of Colophon, Teos, and Ialysus, cities in Asia Minor. The Asiatic Greeks, we know from other sources, had, in early times, outstripped their brethren in Europe in all that relates to commerce and culture. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that these daring sons of Ionia, though soldiers by profession, were masters of the art of writing. This art, consequently, was by no means an uncommon accomplishment among their countrymen. What confirms this inference, is the well-developed character of their writing, and their use of several letters not borrowed from the Phœnicians but invented by the Greeks. The art of writing, therefore, was by no means new in their day. Now, what was the date of the Pharaoh whom these men served? Though the question has not been answered so as to exclude all doubt, most scholars are inclined to place them under the first Psammetichus, *i.e.*, between 654 and 617 B.C. At this date, therefore, there must have been schools in the towns of Ionia. It is not improbable that schools had existed there for some time before. Larfeld, in his "Griechische Epigraphik," expresses the opinion that the alphabet may have been known to the Greeks much earlier. Still, if the Greeks received their alphabet from the Phœnicians, as seems most likely, we must be on our guard against exaggerating the antiquity of the art of writing in Greece. The oldest inscriptions in Phœnician characters do not antedate 900 B.C.; and we know, from the tablets found at Tell-el-Amarna, that in the time of Amen-hotep IV. (1500 B.C.), cuneiform writing was still used in many, if not in all, the cities of Phœnicia. So much is certain: writing-schools could hardly be very common in Greece before the foundation of Nankratis, under Psammetichus I., had thrown Egypt open to Greek commerce, and furnished the Greeks with a practical writing material, viz., the papyrus.[1] The earliest Greek schools, therefore—this seems a probable conclusion,—were founded in the great Ionian colonies of Asia Minor, from six hundred and fifty to seven hundred and fifty years before our era.

History takes no notice of Greek schools until a century and a half later. Their first mention is associated with two deplorable catastrophes: In 496 B.C., Pausanias tells us,[2] the athlete Cleomedes, of Astypalæia, one of the Cyclades, killed his opponent at the Olympian Games. He was tried and convicted by the Hellanodikai. Cleomedes lost his reason, in consequence, and returned home. There, in a fit of madness, he rushed into a school

[1] Iwan Müller, *Die Griechischen Privat Alterthümer*, p. 158.

[2] Pausan., vi., 9, 6.

one day, seized the pillars supporting the roof, and shook them with such violence that the roof collapsed and buried the children, sixty in number, under the ruins. About the same time, a few days before the battle of Lade, which imposed anew the yoke of the Persians on the revolted Ionians, the roof of a school in the town of Chios suddenly gave way. Out of one hundred and twenty children only one escaped.[1] At the beginning of the fifth century B.C., therefore, even places of so little importance as Astypalæia had schools, and what is more, numerously-attended schools.

History, we see, practically confirms the inferences suggested by the date of the first Greek inscriptions. At the time of the calamities of Astypalæia and Chios, schools must have been well-nigh generally diffused throughout the Greek colonies of Asia Minor and the Ægean. That they existed at this time in European Greece is equally certain. Aristotle, in his newly-found "History of the Constitution of Athens,"[2] informs us that Solon's laws (595 B.C.) were engraved on wooden pillars in the king-archon's house. It would have been useless to do this without a fairly-general diffusion of reading. From the orator Æschines,[3] moreover, we learn that Solon enacted a series of laws relating to the conduct of the Athenian schools.

A hundred years, therefore, after the date of our first Greek inscriptions, we find schools scattered throughout Asiatic and European Greece. What led to their rapid and general spread? Was it the result of coercion, in other words, of legal enactments? By no means. The state, in Greece, left education practically free. It compelled no father to send his boy to school; it established no schools of its own; it raised no money for their support; it left everything to private enterprise. This is true no less of Athens than of Arcadia. Nowhere, moreover, did the state meddle with the freedom of teaching. Whoever wished to establish a school, whether he was learned or ignorant, competent or incompetent, had the right to do so. It was only a question of getting people to entrust their children to him. This policy of non-interference with education was so settled a tradition in Athens that in one of Plato's dialogues[4] Socrates tells Alcibiades that his school studies would be of no service to him as a statesman, for he knew well that the public assembly and the orators never meddled with the writing, the music, and the athletics of the schools.[5] But,

[1] Herod., vi., 27.

[2] Arist., *Constitution of Athens*, ch. 7.

[3] *In Timarchum*, § 10, ff. There is some doubt, however, as to the genuineness of these laws.

[4] Plato, "Alcibiades," pp. 106 E., 107 A.

[5] We know of one departure from this rule: The decree of Archinos in the Archonships of Eukleides (405 B.C.) ordaining the use of the Ionian alphabet.

while the state did not interfere with the studies of the schools, it kept a watchful eye on their morals and their relations to public order. We have already referred to Solon's laws on this subject. Those preserved for us by the orator Æschines are the following:

1. No schools are to be open before sunrise, nor after sunset.

2. No adults, except the teacher, his son, his son-in-law, or grandson, shall enter the school-room under pain of death.

3. No adult shall be permitted by the gymnasiarch to be present at the school festivals (the Hermeia and the Museia); offenders to be punished as pæderasts.

4. *Choregoi,* that undertook the training of a boys' chorus for the play, must be more than forty years of age.

5. No slave was allowed to anoint boys in the palæstra or boys' athletic school, nor to exercise therein.

These rules, it will be seen, have the character of police regulations. While they suggest how great were the dangers to which a boy's purity was exposed in Athens, they also show the solicitude of the Athenian government to protect it.

The Greek state, however, was very far from indifferent on the question of the education of its youth. It is true the parents might send their sons to school or not, without any interference by the state. But the laws, in the clearest terms, impressed on the parents their duty to have them properly instructed. The parents who had neglected to have their children taught music[1] and gymnastics lost their right to be supported by their children in old age. Surely this was an impressive warning to the poorer citizens. We hear of another law, which punished with death the thief who robbed a school, if his stealings exceeded ten drachms ($1.76) in value. This stern law is, by some, supposed to have been enacted by Drakon. Its excessive severity soon caused its modification. In the days of Demosthenes, whoever robbed a school was compelled to restore double the value of his stealings. But no law can impress on us more profoundly the value laid on education by the Greeks than the punishment inflicted in the seventh century B.C. by the Mytilenians on their rebellious allies. It is related by Ælian[2] that the children of the rebels were forbidden to be taught the alphabet and music; for the greatest punishment, said the men of Mytilene, was to live uncultured and illiterate.

In the palmy days of Greece, therefore, there were neither state schools nor state-paid education. There was only one exception

[1] The Greek word music often included the arts of reading and writing, and Grasberger thinks that it is to be taken in this broad sense here.

[2] Ælian, *Nat. Hist.*, vii., 15.

to this rule. This exception was made in favor of the orphan children of the Athenians who had fallen for their country on the field of battle. The city felt bound in honor to provide for the support and education of the offspring of its dead heroes.[1] The example set by Athens led to similar provisions in other Greek communities. But this charitable care of those orphans who had a special claim on the state can hardly be classed as a deviation from the settled policy of letting popular education take care of itself. And this policy, as far as we know, prevailed until the times of Alexander the Great, and even somewhat later. Then, however, a change seems to have taken place in at least some parts of the Hellenic world. The first case of assistance given by the state to institutions of learning is found in Egypt, where the Greek Ptolemies may, in a sense, be said to have endowed the newly-founded Museum, for they paid some of the great scholars they attracted to Alexandria, liberal annuities. It is not certain, however, that these savants were expected to teach from the very beginning of, what we may call, the Alexandrian University. That the Museum subsequently became a teaching university cannot be doubted. In the third century B.C. we first meet with state-managed schools. In an inscription found some time ago, we learn that in the third century, B.C., there were free schools at Teos, a town not far from Smyrna. They were under the management of the state, for the public assembly chose the superintendents of schools (the *paidonomos* and *gymnasiarch*), and confirmed the appointment of teachers named by them. The money for the support of these schools, however, did not come from public taxation. They were supported from the interest of a capital of 34,000 drachms ($6120), left by a public-spirited citizen, Polythrus, son of Onesimos, to provide for the education of all the free children of Teos, girls as well as boys. Similarly the city of Delphi, between 200 and 100 B.C., paid its school teachers from the income of 18,000 Alexander drachms, bearing 7 per cent. interest. The capital was a gift of King Attalus I. of Pergamos. The Delphians had sent an embassy to ask him to do something for their schools. To the Rhodians King Eumenes presented 280,000 medimni of corn (about 368,900 bushels), the proceeds of which served as an endowment of their educational institutions. If we may trust the testimony of Diodorus Siculus,[2] state support and state supervision of schools[3] was quite customary in the post-

[1] There were no orphan asylums in Athens, however. The children were brought up at state expense by their nearest relative, if they had any, or, in default of such, by other citizens.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, ii., 13, as cited by I Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[3] *δημοσία επιμέλεια καὶ δαπάνη.*

Macedonian period throughout Greece. We should hardly be well advised, however, if, on the strength of this statement, we assumed that most Greek villages and towns at this time supported free schools. Comparatively large and important towns like Rhodes and Delphi, we have seen, felt the burden of maintaining schools so onerous that they applied to liberal princes, like Attalus and Eumenes, for assistance. Smaller communities must have found it insupportable. The inhabitants, therefore, sent their children abroad to receive their education, or they patronized the local schoolmaster if enterprise or misfortune led one to establish a school, or the children grew up unlettered and untaught.

If we inquire, "What led the state at so late a day to disregard ancient custom and take upon itself the support and supervision of the popular schools?" we are obliged to have recourse to conjecture. Perhaps the example of the Greek rulers of Egypt and Pergamos may have suggested the innovation. Perhaps the decline of prosperity, the partial decay of commerce, and the consequent diminution of individual wealth[1] which followed the loss of Greek independence, rendered the people unable or unwilling to pay for the schooling of their sons. Political dependence and the loss of active political rights, for the exercise of which at least some schooling was necessary, took away a powerful stimulus of education. Lastly, the introduction of new subjects in the schools, such as arithmetic, elementary mathematics, and other branches, looked upon as especially practical, made it more difficult to secure teachers, or rather made it impossible for every broken-down or superanuated hack to start and conduct a school. Instructors competent to teach the new learning must be attracted by stronger inducements than the haphazard and scanty earnings of the old-fashioned pedagogues. Towns that wished to secure the advantages of the new education and remain in the forefront of the educational swim, must guarantee a fixed salary to competent teachers and support town schools from public funds.

It is, therefore, an undoubted fact, that after the end of the fourth century B.C. there were Greek towns that maintained schools from public funds. There is no evidence that they took the further step of compelling their boys to attend school. Ussing[2] indeed, seem to take as authoritative the statement of Diodorus[3] that Charondas established compulsory education at Locri. But the best authorities justly regard the report as un-

[1] At Athens, between 309 B.C and 200 B C., the number of citizens rated as *hoplitai*, and therefore possessing at least 2000 drachms, sank from 9000 to 5000. Busolt, *Die griechischen Staats- und Rechts-Alterthümer*, p. 199.

[2] Ussing, *Erziehung bei den Griechen und Roemern*, p. 80.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, xii., 10.

founded. In no other part of Greece do we hear of any attempt to force parents to send their children to school.

Nevertheless, we are assured that reading and writing were almost universal accomplishments in the more advanced Hellenic States. For Athens, especially, this assertion is made with great confidence. Plutarch in his life of Aristides (ch. 7), declares that in that statesman's time few Athenians were ignorant of reading and writing. To us, who know how many unlettered persons we find in modern Europe and America in spite of every attempt to stimulate and enforce education, the story appears incredible. Yet it appears to be confirmed by a Greek proverb, which said of an utter ignoramus, that he knew neither swimming nor the A B C[1] Sometimes, however, it is dangerous to draw inferences from popular sayings. When we learn that even at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the majority of Athenian citizens were farmers and lived in the country,[2] it seems difficult to take Plutarch's statement literally. Possibly he means to speak only of Athenians dwelling in the city. Even so, it appears remarkable, that without public free schools and compulsory education, the body of the people should have mastered the arts of reading and writing. There is another side to the question, however. At Athens as in other Greek and Roman cities, the slaves constituted one-half of the population; the citizens, at least in the latter half of the fifth century, received pay for attending the public assemblies and for performing their duties as citizens; besides, even after the calamities of the Peloponnesian war three-quarters of the citizens of Athens were land owners and men of some means. In view of these facts, we understand more readily how the Athenians came to be able and willing to pay for the education of their sons. Without it, a citizen could hardly perform the duties incumbent upon him, and without it he was probably to forego wholly or in part the pay, that formed no small part of the poorer citizen's income. We are not justified therefore, in wholly rejecting Plutarch's testimony. At the same time we may allow for some exaggeration, and must not forget, that the statement does not cover the slave population, *i.e.*, one-half of the whole. It seems certain however, that in the commercial cities of Greece, Asiatic and European, reading was a common accomplishment, an accomplishment almost indispensable to the business man.

Strange to say, the people that made so much of education, had but little respect for the teacher. From the earliest period as far as we can follow the history of Greek schoolmasters, they were

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[1] *μήτε νῆϊδδ μήτε γράμματα ἐπίστασθαι.*

[2] Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

objects of undisguised contempt. When a man had proved his incapacity in other professions, or when old age made him unfit to work, he was told to open a school. When a Greek was asked what had become of a person of no consequence, the proverbial answer was, "Dead or teaching the A B C."[1] Lucian, in describing Hades, punishes tyrannical kings and satraps by turning them into beggars, fish-dealers, and schoolmasters. Dionysius the younger, King of Syracuse, who, driven from his throne, taught school at Corinth, is the type of a man who had fallen from the highest to the lowest station. In one of his bitterest invectives, Demosthenes casts up to Æschines, that in his younger days he was, not a bad teacher, but a teacher. Now and then this feeling of contempt found expression in act. Alcibiades, for instance, slapped a teacher in the face, when he found that he had no copy of Homer. Surely, had the teacher's profession been respected by the community, the young Hotspur would have checked his unwarranted ruffianism.

How is this contempt of the teacher to be explained? In the first place, too often men became teachers who had by failure proven their lack of competence in other directions. The profession, consequently, was judged, not by its intrinsic importance, but by the worthlessness of those who embraced it. In the next place, why should men be respected for doing what any one could do? Any one was allowed to teach, therefore, any one was able to teach. No preparation was needed; in fact no systematic preparation was possible, for there were no normal schools in ancient Greece. Why, then, should the old Hellene respect a teacher more than we respect a common laborer? Lastly, slavery fixed a stigma on all paid labor. No gentleman would work for hire. Yet teachers received pay for their work; they sold it; they were, to repeat the expression of Socrates, slave-dealers of their own souls. Was it not one of the strongest grounds of condemnation against the sophists, that they took pay? When these men therefore, many of whom like Gorgias and Protagoras, were certainly scholars of brilliant ability and unusual attainments, were despised as hirelings, is it wonderful that the poor drudge, who taught the elements for a mere pittance, should be the object of general contempt?

Still it is but fair to recall that there were men above this common prejudice. Plato, who himself taught without pay, speaks in glowing words of recognition of old Dionysius, who had taught him the elements. When Isocrates, accompanied his teacher to execution, he was not condemned but praised. So eloquent is the

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[1] ἤτοι τέθνηκεν ἢ διδάσκει γράμματα, Meineke, *Fragm. Comicorum*, p. 698.

letter of Philip of Macedon to the great Aristotle, on the birth of Alexander the Great, so pointed an expression of his appreciation of the worth of a good instructor, that we cannot forbear quoting it. "Know," wrote the king, "that a son has been born to me. I thank the Gods not so much that they have given him to me, as that they allowed him to be born in Aristotle's time." In general it may be said, that after the Macedonian era, the teacher's lot, though still by no means enviable, became somewhat more tolerable. The great philosophers and scientists that taught at Athens, Alexandria, Rhodes and Antioch, were paid and sometimes well paid, and yet were honored by the kings of the East as well as by the proud Roman nobleman.

This is the place to say, in a few words, the little that is known of the salaries of Greek elementary teachers. As we have already said, it was scanty enough. It was usually paid on the first of the month. How much was the pay per scholar in early times no ancient writer tells us. The inscription, to which we have already referred, tells us what was the annual stipend of the various teachers employed in the schools of Teos in the third century before our era. The endowment of Polythrus, 34,000 drachms, was placed at 11½ per cent. interest, and from the resultant income (3900 drachms) three grammatists (literary teachers from the A B C to the completion of the course) received, respectively, 500, 550 and 600 drachms ($90, $99, $114). Two teachers of gymnastics received 500 drachms apiece, a music teacher 700 drachms ($126), a master of fencing 300 drachms ($54), and a teacher of archery 250 drachms ($45). These figures speak for themselves. Still, things were not quite so bad as the figures make them appear. The value of money was far greater then than now, and the food and garments of the ancients were far simpler and less expensive than ours. But making all allowances, even the loudest reformers had little reason to declaim against the excessive salaries of pampered schoolmasters. In the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, we may be sure, the schoolmaster was even less well paid. His income depended on the number of his scholars, and was therefore not only small, but uncertain. On the other hand, we may admit that in not a few cases even the miserable pittance teachers received was more than they earned. They were not only ignorant, but careless. What concerned them was not the progress of the boys, but the monthly stipend paid themselves. "The stipend, not the teacher, teaches the elements," says the comic poet Menander. What astonishes us is that men of this stamp produced results as good as they achieved; for the wonderful literary achievements of classic Greece were the work of their scholars.

The place in which the schoolmaster dispensed his wisdom was worthy of the man. We say "place," for he did not always teach in a house. We read of schoolmasters who taught at the cross-ways. Dionysius, the ex-tyrant of Syracuse, was seen at Corinth teaching his scholars in the public streets. In the country, master and pupils were seen dispensing and imbibing wisdom sitting on rocks. Diotimus taught the boys of Gargara in this way. A crowd of bystanders did not interfere with instruction.[1] This state of things, however, was more common in earlier than in later times, in the country than in the city. In Athens, no doubt, as the *pedotribe* (teacher of athletics) had a well-fitted *palaestra*, so the grammatist had a suitable school-room. The schoolmaster, in the recently-recovered Mimiambs of Herondas, had a school adorned with the statues of the Muses; yet it is likely that Herondas describes the school not of a city, like Athens, but of a small place, like Cos. When the school numbered sixty to one hundred and twenty children, instruction out of doors was impossible. Hence, even the earliest schools of which Greek history speaks—those of Chios and Astypalæia—were buildings reared on columns, though their construction must have been flimsy enough. That in some cases masters instructed their pupils in the open air need not surprise us. Only a few years ago the Jewish boys of Thessalonica might have been seen squatting cross-legged about their teacher in the streets. The mild climate of southern Europe and the habitual out-of-door life of its inhabitants makes the custom look quite natural.

Our acquaintance with the furnishings of a Greek school is derived partly from pictures on Greek vases, partly from the statements of Greek writers. The school interiors represented on the vases, especially on the famous Duris Vase, in the Berlin collection, are quite simple. As the painter's aim was not to illustrate Greek customs, but to decorate a piece of ornamental ceramics, he presents to us not the school as a whole, but certain scholastic groups that readily lent themselves to his purpose. Whether he introduces us into the grammatist's or citharist's school, or pictures the scenes of the palæstra, he outlines for us, at most, eight or ten figures, including the teacher. The latter is generally seated on a chair, with a rest for the back, the *cathedra* or *thronos*. When reciting to the grammatist, the boy stands; while taking his music lesson, he is seated on a stool. Now and then we come across a music-master, who stands in front of his scholar, apparently beating time. On the Duris cup the *thronos* stands on the floor; in later representations we find it on a platform. Of benches

[1] Ussing, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

or desks there is no sign in these pictures; not because there were none—for surely sixty or a hundred scholars could not be kept standing in the background—but because to represent them appeared unartistic. Indeed, Greek writers mention *bathra*, or rising benches, as a regular part of school furniture in early times. The chief elementary teacher on the Duris cup holds in his hands an unrolled scroll—Greek books were always rolls—on which he follows the scholar's recitation. In a second compartment of the same painting we behold another master—probably an assistant, for he sits on a stool—examining some writing on a wax tablet, which he holds in his left hand. In the right he holds a stylus or writing-pencil, ready to correct any error in the exercise of the lad who stands before him. Hung upon the wall are lyres, rolled-up manuscripts, flute-cases, a basket intended to hold manuscripts, crossed rulers and drinking-cups. Whether these paraphernalia belonged to the master or to the students, there are no means of determining. So much is certain, that the scarcity and the costliness of books forbade the equipment of every scholar with copies of all the books he was to use. Each lad, no doubt, had his writing materials in the literary school, his musical instruments in the citharist's. The ink—for the wax tablet and the stylus were not the only writing materials—was provided by the schoolmaster; for Demosthenes, in ridiculing his great opponent, Æschines, reminds him of the times when he helped his father, Atrometos, to rub ink for the schoolmaster, Elpidas.

Having glanced at the Greek school and its furnishings, it is time to become acquainted with the scholars. The first thing that would strike a modern visitor in old Athens or any Greek city up to the fourth century, B.C., would be the absence of all girl schools. The Ionian Greeks of the classic age, as is well known, had little respect for women.[1] They considered her as a necessary evil. They credited her with little intelligence, and thought her unfit for any responsibility outside of the home circle. Woman's place was at the fireside, her destiny to cook and spin and weave for her parents, her brothers and her husband. Only women of the lower classes were seen frequently in the streets; the gentlewoman's interests centered at home. There she must remain. She left the house only with the husband's permission, and accompanied by slaves. There in the part of the house allotted to the family she ruled over her younger children and her slaves. To fulfil these duties required little literary education, perhaps none at all. It

[1] In the Dorian States not only in Sparta, but in Æolia and Bœotia also, the women held a much higher position. The political importance of Queen Artemisia, of Halicarnassus, of Philotime, Queen Regent of Cyrene, and the literary achievements of the Lesbian Sappho and the Theban Corinna, are sufficient to prove this.

seems singular that the total neglect of female education by the ancient Greeks did not suggest to some of their admirers that after all there was but little idealism in their views on the bringing up of children. If the Greek spirit was completely saturated with the sentiment of beauty, and its complete development in man, why should its æsthetic instincts be paralyzed when there was question of the education of girls? This was controlled by the law of strict utilitarianism. What the girl needed for practical life she got. What reason is there to assume that considerations of a different nature controlled the boy's education?

For the girls of classic Greece, therefore, there were no schools. Whatever accomplishments they acquired before marriage they acquired from their mother. If they learned to read and write—and undoubtedly there were women in Athens and other Ionian cities who were not illiterate, their mothers had taught them. They were married young; brides of fifteen were quite common. By that time the girl was supposed to know how to spin, weave, sew, keep her own and her husband's garments in order, cook and to manage the details of domestic economy. No wonder the young housewife was often, we may say generally, ignorant of reading and writing.

While the Greek husband's attention was taken up with political affairs in the court and the public assembly, that is to say, during the flourishing period of Greek independence, he had little time and probably little inclination to fill the gaps in his wife's training. Very different was the position when free government was dead, and the commonwealth either became a subject state, or certainly ceased to pay its citizens for service as dikasts, or in the assembly. Then the husband's thoughts naturally turned toward home, and found in his family life the interest no longer afforded him by the *agora*. Then he felt that his wife must be not only a servant but a companion; then, too, we find that the Greek girl's mental training became an object of solicitude to her parents, and we meet with provisions for her instruction in reading, writing and literature. The Teian schools, already spoken of, were by a special clause in the endowment open to girls as well as to boys. In the second period of Greek education, female education assumes a wholly different aspect. The example of the Dorian States, the spread of learning among the women of Asiatic Ionia, and somewhat later the influence of Rome, where woman's position had always been far higher than at Athens, as well as the changed relations of the husband and wife in states now deprived of political life, combined to secure for girls the educational advantages so far reserved for their brothers. Among the characteristics, therefore, that mark the second period in the history of education in Greece, we may safely reckon its extension to the gentler sex.

But we must not anticipate. Let us return to the Athens of the fifth century, whose schools were intended for boys only. At that time, we learn from the comic writers, there were schools in every district (χώμη). When the generation that had reached manhood during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), were lads, Aristophanes tells us, they used to go to school in troops, clad only in a *chiton* (a blouse or shirt), even when it snowed and stormed. The boys varied in age probably from seven to fourteen years; these years remained the school years throughout the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman period also. There were writers on pedagogy that spoke in favor of at least preliminary instruction at an earlier age; among them great thinkers like Plato and Aristotle. But as a matter of practice the seventh year was the beginning of school life, as had been advocated even by old Hesiod.

Up to the Peloponnesian War, we have said, the boys went to school in troops clad simply in a blouse without shawl. Since they went in crowds together, it seems natural to infer that they went unaccompanied. If this inference be correct, there was certainly a decided change in Aristophanes' time. For from the latter part of the fifth century downward, boys, as a rule, went to school accompanied by a slave, who carried their school implements, and watched over their correct behavior; the pedagogue henceforth is an important figure in Greek education. We do not mean to say that before this time pedagogues were unknown; they occur in the tragedies of Sophocles. But probably in the simpler days of old, in spite of the early school hours, the custom of sending their boys to school under the eyes of a pedagogue had not become general among the Athenians; perhaps it was confined to a few of the wealthiest and noblest. We must remember that the tragedians dealt only with the kings and nobles of the heroic ages. At all events, from the time of Pericles the pedagogue seems to have accompanied the average Athenian lad as his shadow; such, at least, is the impression made on us by Greek art and literature. Notwithstanding the cheapness of slaves in antiquity, however, we are inclined to agree with Girard[1], that while pedagogues were undoubtedly common at Athens, there were many citizens too poor to keep them for their children.

At seven, therefore, perhaps earlier, the lad, who had so far been under the care of his nurse, was put in charge of a pedagogue, and not until eighteen or twenty was he relieved from his supervision. Who were these pedagogues? What were their duties? Generally—nay, almost universally—they were slaves; sometimes men of considerable culture, often barbarians from Thrace or Asia Minor. Sometimes they were men selected on

[1] *Les Éducation Athénienne* au 5ème el 4ème Siècle, A. J. C., p. 114.

account of their special fitness for the work expected of them; not unfrequently they were coarse fellows, broken down by age or unfit for other work. To our amazement, even the great Pericles gave to his ward, Alcibiades, as pedagogue, a Thracian named Zopyrus, so br ken down by age that he was the most useless of his master's slaves. When Pericles made so gross a blunder, we may well believe that the complaints of the Greek philosophers on this subject were not exaggerated. Too often parents, blind to the consequences, entrusted their children to worthless or tricky fellows, merely because that was the only use to which they could put them. Plato paints the pedagogues of Lysis and Menexenus as men unable to speak Greek correctly. On vase-paintings the pedagogue often appears in barbarian garb. Still, the duties of the pedagogue were of the utmost importance to the pupil's development. Though he rarely instructed the lad entrusted to his care in letters, he was expected to teach him good manners and to imbue him with correct moral feelings and principles. A good pedagogue taught his pupil to walk in the streets with downcast eyes and modest gait, not to sit cross-legged, to observe proper manners at table, to take sardines with one finger, fish, bread and meat with two, to hold his fish in the left, his meat in the right hand, forks being unknown, to fold or take up his shawl becomingly, to avoid the markets and crowded thoroughfares, to make way for his elders in the streets, to give up his seat to them in the theatre, to keep his right hand under his shawl (*himation*), to arrange his garments so as not to expose himself, not to interrupt his elders when speaking, to speak only when asked, and then briefly and respectfully. All the external proprieties, we see, were under his supervision, and hence he had great influence in furthering or checking the development of his ward in order, chastity and respect for age and authority. We need not point out how great a power for good or evil was the pedagogue. A gentle, refined and virtuous man—and there were gentle and refined men among Greek slaves—could implant in a youth not only elegance of manners, but a sound moral character. Greek comedy often represen s the pedagogue as the confidant of his ward, and, sad to say, the pedagogues of comedy rarely use their influence in the cause of virtue. In most cases we find them to be shrewd, selfish rascals, pandering to the youth's passions in order to promote their own interests. Knowing, as we do, the great chasm which, even in the opinion of so enlightened a thinker as Plato, separated the slave from the freeman, we can readily conceive the difficulties surrounding the slave pedagogue. Humiliated without scruple by the adults of the family, he was yet to gain and maintain the respect of his ward. What means

had he to do so except the perennial weapons of the feeble—unscrupulous cunning and finesse? The slave pedagogue, it is clear, was not a desirable addition to the machinery of education. It was the curse of slavery, as of other evils, progressively to give birth to further evil, and to avenge the slave by enslaving the master. But even in the rare instances, when the pedagogue was a hired freeman, his influence was seldom for good.

Such were the men who shared with parents and teachers the task of shaping the youthful mind and heart of Greece. When the pedagogue had brought his ward to school, he remained in attendance until the time came to bring the lad home. That is the view held by prominent authorities and supported by the evidence of art. On the cup of Duris, for instance, and on several other vases, decorated with paintings dealing with school life, a bearded man appears, elderly, simply clad, bearing a staff, and in some cases, at least, lacking the graceful pose of the genuine Greek. He is seated at leisure behind student and teacher. These men are generally interpreted to be pedagogues waiting for their wards. On the other hand, we call to mind that Solon forbade not only slaves, but even freemen, to enter the school-room, except members of the schoolmaster's immediate family. It may be said, no doubt, that Solon's laws were not the laws of the Medes and Persians; and, truly, we know that as early as the end of the fifth century B.C., men entered not only the grammatist's and music master's school, but even the palæstra. If it be correct, that pedagogues became fashionable toward the same time, the presence of pedagogues in the school-room would be natural enough. After school they led their wards home again, carrying their school baggage. In fact, whatever the ward did and wherever he went, the pedagogue remained in attendance. How did this perpetual guide and monitor enforce his authority? Had he the right of beating the lad whom he attended? Ussing thinks so, and Grasberger, in some paragraphs, expresses the same view. But in his later volumes Grasberger is inclined to the opposite opinion, and Girard agrees with him. To us, as to them, it seems unlikely that fathers should so far forget their rooted prejudice as to permit slaves to birch their own free offspring. No one can doubt that at times human nature asserted itself in the slave, and that, under favorable circumstances, they did not spare the rod to spoil a particularly provoking and impudent spoilt child. The average pedagogue, we know from the comedians, was an abomination to the half-grown lad. He plagued the wretched slave almost beyond endurance, and if the pedagogue sometimes beat the young master, there are cases on record where the tables were turned. Slight, therefore, on the whole, must have been the unfortunate slave

pedagogue's authority, and slighter his means of enforcing it. His responsibility, withal, was undoubted, and he often suffered vicarious punishment for the naughtiness of his young *protegé*. Leonidas, the pedagogue of Alexander the Great, was blamed for some of the great conqueror's failings. Diogenes boxed a pedagogue's ear when he saw his ward eat meat without taking bread. Still, Diogenes was a philosopher, and at one time was a pedagogue himself. How much more exacting, severe and stern disappointed masters were, it is easy to conceive.

The pedagogue, therefore, has brought his lad to school. It is early morning, little after sunrise. The boy has just had time hastily to break his fast, for in ancient Greece, school hours began very early and lasted long. Solon's laws, we have seen forbade the schoolmaster to keep his school open before sunrise or after sunset. What were the scholar's occupations in the meanwhile? Greek education, the reader need not be told, did not restrict itself to the training of the mind; it looked not only after the boy's intellect; it also cared for his physical and moral training. Letters, that is to say reading and writing, he learned from the *grammatist*, gymnastics from the *pedotribe;* music, which was regarded the most effective means of forming the lad's moral character, the *citharist* taught him. Sometimes, it is likely enough, the grammatist, also, taught athletics; more frequently, he was also a music master. The association of scenes from the grammatist's and citharist's sphere of work on the Duris cup and similar works of art favor the suggestion, as also some passages in Greek writers. However our positive knowledge on this point is by no means full or satisfactory. Of course, the scholar did not follow the three courses simultaneously. The citharist's instruction began when the elementary teacher had prepared the pupil for it: for the citharist taught not only the playing of the lyre, but singing, without which music had no meaning for the early Greeks. Singing included the study of poetical rhythms, and the explanation of the hymns and other lyric pieces to be learned by the scholars. The musical course, therefore, was also an advanced literary course and was meant for riper scholars. Whether athletics or reading was first taken up, has long been a moot-point. Plato strongly urged that the physical training precede the mental. Scholars now, however, seem to agree, that as a rule gymnastics did not begin the boy's education; he went first to learn his alphabet, or perhaps went to grammatist and pædotribe at the same time. Though our authorities are far from clear on the question, it is probable that the morning hours were given to the literary master, the afternoon being assigned to the work of the palæstra. Still Ludius, the slave, in the *Bacchides* of Plautus reminds old Philoxe-

nus of the days when he went to the gymnasium before sunrise and after finishing his athletics to the schoolmaster. But Ludius seems to refer to the latter days of the old gentleman's school-life. We may not be too bold perhaps in conjecturing that the little boys went to school in the morning and then to the palæstra, while the more advanced followed the inverse order. In this way both sets of teachers would be constantly occupied. As to the division of time we have no information; indeed we are not even informed whether there existed any plan of hours.

The Greeks believed in the principle that to spare the rod is to spoil the child. "The man who has not been flogged," said a Greek proverb, "has no education."[1] In early childhood the young Greek was punished by his mother when he was naughty. The traditional instrument of torture was the slipper, and on more than one vase painting the artist has represented this feature of Greek education. With advancing years the mother resigned her position as flogger and the slipper was superseded. Greek lads, we should bear in mind, were often no less naughty than our modern scrapegraces; indeed, it is doubtful whether the young scamps of our nineteenth century have in this respect advanced far beyond their predecessors of old. Truant players appear to date back to the time of the first schoolmaster, and neither impudence, lying nor disobedience were invented by latter-day schoolboys. Lazy boys in Greek and Roman schools rubbed their eyes with olive oil till they had an appearance of inflammation and then claimed the teacher's indulgence for not knowing their lessons.[2] Other rascals drank cumine, which gave them an artificial pallor,[3] ascribed by them to hard study. In the recently-recovered Mimiambs of Herondas we meet with the sketch of a young scamp who makes life miserable for his parents, and is, therefore, brought to school to be chastised by his teacher. The crimes of this young hopeful include, besides scandalous laziness and ignorance, destruction of his school utensils, truant playing, association with runaway slaves and low rascals, gambling, intimidation of his grandmother, lengthy absence from the paternal roof, the tiles of which he demolished for his amusement, and the wanton destruction of his garments. No wonder that the mother's slipper was inadequate to do justice to the villain. No wonder that she brought him by main force to his teacher, Lampriskos, to whom she relates all his wicked pranks. Lampriskos is no man of the slipper. He has quite an assortment of arguments, ranging from the simple birch to the formidable cowhide. He dis-

[1] Ὁ μὴ δαρεὶς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται.

[2] Persius, *Sat.*, iii., 44.

[3] *Ibid, Sat.*, i., 26.

regards the young scamp's prayers and prescribes an allopathic dose of cowhide.[1] This is administered by classmates after the culprit has been hoisted on the shoulders of one of them. As the Greeks wore no trousers, the preparatory ceremonies were much simpler than those necessary when similar chastisement was awarded by nineteenth century teachers some forty years ago. In general, we shall not wrong the Greek schoolmaster if we ascribe to him an abiding faith in the birch and a pronounced mastery in its use. On Greek vases the stick is almost as universally the pædotribe's symbol as the sceptre is the symbol of royalty. Of the music-teacher's method of enforcing discipline we read in the "Clouds" of Aristophanes[2] that:

> "If any one with roulades fanciful
> Warbled and trilled such novel breakneck airs
> As Phrynis taught, full many a cutting stripe
> Was laid on him for mocking thus the Muses."

The poet, it is true, seems to hint in a general way that much to his regret and to the disadvantage of the generation then growing up essence of birch was not prescribed as bountifully as in his own school-days. In Menander's time (342–292 B. C.), however, the birch still flourished in the grammatist's school; for, in one of his plays as paraphrased in Plautus's Bacchides,[3] we read:

> "When from the race-course[4] and the wrestling school
> You had returned with tunic lightly girdled
> And took your seat just at the master's side,
> If reading from a book a single word you missed,
> Your back was marked with stripes just like
> Your nurse's robe."

At the same time there were not wanting men of discernment who raised their voices against wholesale flogging. In Terence's play of "The Brothers,"[5] which is a paraphrase of Menander's comedy of the same title, Micio, one of the brothers, expresses his conviction that:

> "By wise appeals to self-respect, combined
> With kindliness and confidence may lads
> Be better trained to virtue than by fear."

But old Micio was not the type of a large class. When philosophers like Antisthenes and Chrysippus, the Stoic, expressed their approval of education by the rod, we may rest assured that the

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[1] Lampriskos had even worse treatment for young scamps. Chains and imprisonment were the portion of unusually wicked sinners. (Herondas, iii, 69.)

[2] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, f. 970 ff.

[3] Bacchides, ll. 431 ff.

[4] A part of the palæstra or gymnasium.

[5] Adelphœ, ll. 67–8.

village schoolmaster had a firm belief in the same educational methods.

It is time now to enter the grammatist's school and watch the scholar's attempts to become acquainted with the Muses. As it was not usual to teach the children the letters at home, the master had the advantage and pleasure of implanting his lore in virgin soil. A-B-C books there were none; indeed, they would not have been needed at the outset if there had been any. We still meet with parents who feel that their hopefuls have half graduated when they can spin off the alphabet from A to Z, though they cannot distinguish one letter from another. These parents represent the oldest classical traditions, for the Greek schoolmaster began his instruction by teaching his scholars the names of the letters from Alpha to Omega. Having memorized the alphabet, the boys were now made acquainted with their written forms and with the phonetic value of these, which, in the case of the Greek alphabet, differs so greatly from the names of the letters. Then they proceeded to put letters together, *e.g.*, *beta alpha*, *ba*, *gamma alpha*, *ga*, etc. These exercises were followed by others involving syllables of three and more letters, *e.g.*, *gar*, *ger*, *gor*, etc., until the scholar had acquired a commendable readiness in what we may call syllabizing. He next learned to read whole words, and lastly sentences. Such is the account of the primary instruction we find in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived shortly before the Christian era. As we cannot well conceive a simpler and more primitive method of teaching a child how to read, it is safe to assume that the boys in the time of Augustus were taught in the same manner as the men of Marathon and Salamis. Indeed apart from some almost mechanical improvements, little was done to teach the elements in a more rational manner. The Greeks never thought of the phonetic method invented by Venzky (1721) and popularized by Stephani (1802), as some German scholars have asserted. Nor did they combine the teaching of reading and writing according to Graser's method (1765–1841). They helped along the memory to some extent by inventing metrical alphabets, which the scholars sang in chorus. Spelling, too, was done chorus-wise, as was the case in some modern schools till past the middle of the present century. We read also of a Letter Tragedy or Letter Spectacle (γραμματικὴ θεωρία) by the comic poet Callias (about 405 B.C.), in which the dramatic and rhythmic forms of the drama are used to teach the names of the letters, the combination of two and two into syllables, their division into vowels and consonants and other elementary facts respecting them.[1] Welcker

[1] Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, x., 453. The best discussion of this interesting passage is Welcker's essay in *Rheinisches Museum*, i., p. 137.

is inclined to think that, though not written by a schoolmaster, the "Tragedy" was for school use, which would prove the existence of classes in schools (at least for Callias' time, *i.e.*, for the first period of Hellenic schools), as well as the striving after improvement in pedagogic methods. In later times Quintilian[1] approves of letters cut in ivory and given to children to familiarize them with the forms of the letters and to teach them spelling. We see how close the ancients came to Basedow's cracker alphabet, which was invented by that distinguished educator to feed German children both body and mind.

It is best, perhaps, to say here, that though during the first period of Hellenic education, we find no advance beyond the most primitive methods; at least some later schoolmasters were more progressive. Quintilian in the first century of our era, pointedly condemns the prevalent custom of teaching scholars the names of the letters without acquainting them with their forms. He also prescribes that after being studied in their regular order, the letters should be reversed or placed at random. Further than this, the classical schoolmaster did not advance in devising improved methods in teaching the elements of reading.

It is needless to say that with these crude methods of teaching, the lack of A-B-C books, charts and modern blackboards, the want of punctuation and accent marks, and the absence of space between word and word, more time was required by an Athenian lad to learn to spell and read than by the nineteenth century boy. The latter, moreover, has his road made easy and interesting by many other devices. Our modern A-B-C books are full of pictures, that not only interest the scholar but help his memory. Then the progressive principle is strictly carried out in the arrangement of the lessons, the earlier and easier always preparing the boy for the harder. Care is taken that from the start pure memory drudging should as much as possible be avoided, and interest be awakened in the subject-matter of the spelling or reading lessons, which must never pass the scholar's understanding. Step by step the child is led from the very gates of knowledge to its most mysterious mazes.

Not so the Greek lad. "When boys have learnt the letters," Plato tells us,[2] "and are able to understand written language as they understood spoken language before, the teacher gives them the poems of great bards and makes them learn the same by heart. For in these are found much instruction and many stories about the good men of old as well as their praises and eulogies, so that the lad may be eager to imitate them and strive to become like

[1] Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriæ*, i, 1, 26.

[2] Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 325 I, E.

them." No sooner, therefore, had the lad mastered the simplest mysteries of spelling and reading, than without any effort to lead him up step by step, the great works of Greek poetic genius were put into his hands. The object of studying these poems, according to Plato, was to hold up to the children the great heroes of Greece for imitation. No doubt the study of Homer and Hesiod, did excite lofty ideals in the lads. Their use in Greek schoolhouses, it is likely enough, was originally due to the absence of other reading books. The good results produced, the universal popularity of Homer and the conservatism of the people, transmitted these text-books from generation to generation. Homer, indeed, held his place in the schools from their very rise to the downfall of the Roman Empire. To the Greeks, Homer's poems were reading lesson, literature, history, psychology, and a catechism of his religious, moral and political principles. Listen to what the Roman, Horace, says of his merits as a teacher of ethical and political wisdom:

> "While Lollius, you declaim the bard of Troy
> At Rome, I read him and enjoy
> Here at Praeneste; well, the sage of old
> More clearly and correctly far, I hold,
> Than Crantor and Chrysippus tells us, what
> Is good, what's evil, useful and what not."[1]

No doubt there were philosophers—Plato was one of them—who regarded the moral obliquities of Homer's gods as means little suited to inspire Greek youth with lofty ideas of correct conduct. But even the great name of Plato had little weight here—another proof how slightly philosophic theory influenced the development of Greek education. At the same time, it is but just to remark that the consensus of modern pedagogues pronounces Homer's songs admirably fitted to bring out a lad's manly qualities. Only, in accordance with the characteristics of the nineteenth century, the warrior heroes of the "Iliad" must yield the precedence to the adventurous Ulysses, the hero who saw many cities and knew the customs of many men.

While Homer was the chief, he was not the only author read by the boys of ancient Greece. During the period, of which we are now speaking, *i.e.*, before 400 B.C., they also memorized and read, probably in selections, the poems of Phokylides, Theognis, Solon, Hesiod and Simonides. More popular than all these were the ὑποθῆκαι mistakenly ascribed to Hesiod, a collection of home-spun proverbs embodying the wisdom of the masses. It was supposed to have been made by the Centaur Chiron for Achilles.

[1] Horace, Ep. i., 2, 1–4.

The verses of the poets named above, also, were chiefly didactic, and abounded in striking sentences, setting forth familiar truths. The reader will appreciate a few specimens.

"Work for the young, counsels for middle age,
The old may best in vows or prayers engage."
—*Hesiod* (about 8–900 B.C.) *Maxims of Chiron.*

"Only a fool will fruits in hand forego
That he the charm of doubtful chase may know."—*Ibid.*

"The fool first suffers, and is after wise."—*Works and Days.*

"Hard work will best uncertain fortune mend."—*Ibid.*

"Little to little added, if oft done,
In small time makes a good possession."—*Ibid.*

"When on your home falls unforeseen distress,
Half-clothed come neighbors; kinsmen wait to dress."—*Ibid.*[1]

"No mean or coward heart will I commend
In an old comrade or a party friend;
Nor with ungenerous hasty zeal decry
A noble minded gallant enemy."
Theognis (about 570–480 B.C.)—*Fragments.*[2]

"Fame is a jest; favor is bought and sold;
No power on earth is like the power of gold."—*Ibid.*

"Of all good things in human life,
Nothing can equal goodness in a wife."—*Ibid.*

"Woe's me for joyful youth and joyless eld
This coming I behold; that going I've beheld."—*Ibid.*

"Of those at famed Thermopylæ who lie,
Glorious the fortune, bright the destiny.
Their tomb an altar is, their noble name
A fond remembrance of ancestral fame.
Their death a song of triumph; neither rust
Nor time that turns all mortal things to dust,
Shall dim the splendor of that holy shrine
Where Greece forever sees her native virtues shine."
—Simonides of Ceos in Lord Neaves's *Greek Anthology*, p. 2.

"Go, tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to her laws we lie."
—Simonides's Epigram on the 300 Spartans who died at Thermopylæ, *ibid.*, p. 24.

We need not point out that such poetry was the best substitute early Greek literature supplied for a catechism of simple morality. Lucian, as well as Plato, tells us that the aim of the Greek schools was, above all, to implant in the boy's mind lofty ideals of virtue and goodness. We have seen what protection the law threw around his purity; we shall see, hereafter, that by sage and Philistine music was chiefly valued as a stay of morals.

[1] The translations are taken from Davies' *Hesiod* and *Theognis*, pp. 59, ff.

[2] Translated by Hookham Frere.

Homer, therefore, and the ancient elegiac poets, were the principal text-books of the Greek school-boy. Of course, we must not imagine that each lad had a full equipment of school-books. Paper was too dear, and the printer's art unknown. The teacher, as a rule, dictated the text, which was afterwards read as a class exercise. Often, too, the text was repeated so often that the scholar knew it by heart. It was not uncommon in Athens to meet not only boys but men who knew Homer by heart from beginning to end; indeed, the Greeks were proud of their quick and retentive memories. In Homer's verse and the saws of Hesiod and the other didactic poets, memorized by him as a boy, the Greek carried with him through life a library of literary and moral classics.

In training his scholars to read these poems, the master laid stress, above all, on distinctness of enunciation. To achieve this result, besides the usual means of making the student repeat the words slowly and often, syllable by syllable, the teacher made use of certain alliterative combinations of words, difficult to pronounce and called *χαλινοί*[1] (*i.e.*, reins). "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers" is a sample in English of what the Greeks meant by this term. An anecdote from the life of Demosthenes shows that to attain clearness of pronunciation the Greeks resorted to other means also. Demosthenes, we read, in order to perfect his utterance, said to have been quite faulty at first, put small pebbles in his mouth while declaiming on the seashore. How this was to cure him of his defects is not very plain. Another point to which Greek schoolmasters directed the attention of their pupils was correct accentuation, a result not so easily attained in a language abounding in words differing in length, any one of whose last three syllables might bear the accent. Accent marks, it will be recalled, did not come into use till the third century B.C.[2] Above all, we must not forget that the poets read by the scholars abounded in uncurrent words, partly obsolete, partly belonging to other dialects. Another difficulty to be surmounted was the absence of punctuation marks. Accordingly, it required no little quickness and intelligence to catch rapidly the relation of the several clauses in a sentence, and give the required changes in the voice. On all these points the *grammatistes* of our first period must have insisted, for the *grammatikos* and the rhetoricians, the teachers of advanced scholars in post-Macedonian times, were still unknown. The *grammatistes*, no doubt, also instructed the older boys in rhythmic reading and the elements of prosody, at least as

[1] Quintilian, i., 1, 37.

[2] Aristophanes of Byzantium, chief librarian of Ptolemy Evergetes, was their inventor (240 B.C.).

far as the dactylic hexameter and pentameter are concerned. Without such knowledge no boy could have read effectively the sonorous verses of the immortal bard of Troy.

The aim of the Greek schoolmaster in his reading lessons was to make his scholars understand fully the meaning and the beauties of the poetical masterpieces of the nation. For the full understanding of these compositions, however, much was required besides the distinct musical and metrical recitation of their verses. Many of the poets read in Athenian schools did not write in the Attic dialect. The Homeric poems, the chief text-book of all Greece, are written in a language strange to every Greek boy because of its numerous obsolete words and forms. The greatest of the Greek lyric poets sang in the Æolic and Doric forms of the Greek tongue. To enable the lads to grasp the meaning of these bards, it was the teacher's constant duty to explain these ancient and dialectic words and word-forms. A strikingly difficult task, for we are speaking of times when the science of grammar had hardly been born. Only in the time of the Sophists did the greatest Greek thinkers learn the difference between a noun and a verb. To distinguish all the parts of speech was an achievement reserved for the Stoic philosophers. Besides these linguistic elucidations, the teacher gave any explanations needed to clear up the author's meaning. In doing so he taught mythology, ethics, history, astronomy, geography; in fact, was supposed to be a walking encyclopædia. The reading lesson included all the accessory branches, that is, so far as these branches were touched upon in the reading matter. Such was the good Greek schoolmaster's conception of what is included in a reading lesson in later days, when the *grammatikos* had taken charge of the more advanced lads. In earlier days the grammatist must have imparted this instruction, even if his work was less thorough. If to this we add the teaching of composition, we shall have a fairly complete picture of the Greek master's activity in the matter of "language lessons."

Writing, we have already said, was not begun at the same time as reading, as is the case nowadays. When the boy had made some progress in spelling, the teacher initiated him into the mysteries of writing. The Greeks seem to have taken pleasure in making writing as difficult as possible. They wrote with their tablets or papyrus resting on their lap, not on a desk or table. It is needless to comment on the unhealthiness and constraint of this position. The Greek lad, in this respect, was certainly at a great disadvantage compared with his nineteenth century compeer. While learning to write the letters, the boys used wax tablets, as we often use the slate. The master wrote the letters on an upper

line, the scholar on the lines below; sometimes he guided the boy's hand. In later times we learn of other expedients to aid the young penman. Quintilian (42–120 A.D.) speaks of boards into which the forms of the letters had been cut; the boy at first followed the lines so traced for him, and after some practice wrote independently. The great Ostrogoth King Theodoric wrote his name through a stencil plate. The mastery of the single letters having been acquired, combinations were attempted, for we must not forget that, at all events, in post-Macedonian times, the Greeks also used a kind of running hand.

In setting copies, the master strove to find words combining all the letters of the alphabet; words like *μάρπτε*, *σφίγξ*, *κλώψ* were favorites. Then followed lines such as are still found in our copy books, embodying moral precepts or other forms of practical wisdom. On a wax tablet, now in the British Museum, are found the following lines written three times in succession, evidently as an exercise in writing:

> Take this advice given by a man of sense,
> Not ev'ry friend is worth thy confidence.[1]

Some tablets in the collection of the New York Historical Society contain similar copies made from Menander. The Leyden Library has recently been presented with a wax copy-book, consisting of seven tablets found at Palmyra, which had been a Greek boy's writing material; they contained, besides verses from Hesiod, a number of the fables of Babrius. The exercises are full of errors, additions and omissions.[2] In the early period of Greek schools, the scholar was hardly expected to attain great perfection in caligraphy. Indeed, Plato[3] tells us pointedly that boys should not aim at fine or fast writing unless possessed of special talent. Quintilian expresses very different views, and enforces them by very sensible reasons.[4] But Quintilian, of course, is the representative of a later age.

For the beginner, we have seen, the wax tablet and *graphis* were the writing implements. The *graphis* (Lat. *stilus*), was a metal or bone pencil, with a sharp point. When the scholar had attained reasonable skill in writing, he exchanged the tablet for parchment on which he wrote with a reed pen (*calamus*).[5] For work of especial elegance papyrus was used. The advanced scholar was also provided with a ruler (*κανών*) and a disk of lead, which was

[1] *σοῦ παρ' ἀνδρὸς προσδέχου συμβουλίαν μὴ πᾶσιν εἶκῃ τοῖς φίλοις πιστεύεται.*

[2] Hesseling in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxiii., p. 293.

[3] Plato, *De Legg*, vii., p. 810, A.

[4] Quintilian, *De Instit Oratoria*, i.. 1, 28.

[5] The first mention of quills is found in "Isidore of Seville," vi., 14, 3. (Blass, *Palæographie*), p. 342.

the substitute for our lead pencils. These were used for drawing lines.

Arithmetic, in our sense of the word, was, by the Greeks, called *logistiké:* the word arithmetic with them applied not so much to practical ciphering as to the science of the relations and properties of numbers.[1] The earliest traces of computation among the Greeks we find in Homer. The term he uses for reckoning, πεμπάζειν,[2] points to its nature, *i.e.*, computing on the five fingers. This method of reckoning the ancient Greeks and Romans carried to great perfection. By attaching different values to the several joints of the fingers of both hands, they could express numbers up to 10,000. How general finger computation was among the classic nations we may infer from its giving rise to games, one of which, the Italian *mora* game, is very popular to this day. For lengthier and more difficult calculations the *abacus* or reckoning board was used. The Greeks borrowed this device from the Eastern nations, and used it throughout their history. Of the precise arrangement of the Greek *abacus* we have no certain knowledge. It is likely enough that it did not differ greatly from the Roman reckoning board. Suffice it to say here that to arrive at the desired results, pegs, pebbles or marbles were moved, sometimes in grooves, sometimes between lines, along different columns, signifying different values. Prior to the time of the Peisistratids the Greeks, when writing numbers, made use of the initials of the numbers to be recorded, *e.g.*, Π stood for πέντε = 5; Δ for δέκα = 10. About 470 B.C., the Greeks adopted a new method of writing numbers. From the Phœnicians they borrowed the practice of using the letters of the A, B, C, in their order as signs of numbers α, β, γ, etc., denoting 1, 2, 3, etc. To show that a letter was used as a number, a bar was placed horizontally above it. An acute accent indicated that a number was used as a fraction, thus $\gamma' = \frac{1}{3}$. This method of numeration the Greeks retained till the introduction of the Arabic numerals, about 1000 A.D. As a rule the units were placed to the right of the tens, the tens to the right of the hundreds, etc. On inscriptions, however, numbers of two digits are sometimes found with the digits in the inverse order.[3] Even after the introduction of the new numerals, finger computation and the reckoning board remained the chief means for doing problems in addition, subtraction and multiplication. Ciphering on paper, Günther[4] tells us, made little progress till after the death

[1] The term arithmetic as used to designate a part of the mediæval *quadrivium* had the same meaning.

[2] Homer, *Odyss.*, iv., 412.

[3] Friedlein, *Die Zahlzeichen und das Elementare Rechnen bei den Griechen and Römern*, p. 10. Friedlein is the chief authority on this subject.

[4] Günther, *Geschichte der Mathematik im Alterthum*, pp. 236–7.

of Alexander the Great. While our knowledge of the methods used by the Greeks in reckoning is very imperfect, the following facts seem to be satisfactorily established:

1. The placing of digits of the same denomination under each other when numbers were to be added or subtracted, was a relatively late practice. It seems to have been suggested by the needs of multiplication.

2. For adding and subtracting the reckoning board was used, the sum or difference being written down at the end of the operation only.

3. The answer was placed above, not below, the numbers to be added, and was,[1] therefore, called *κεφάλαιον*.

A simple example in multiplication will be the shortest way of making the reader acquainted with the Greek method of multiplication. It is transcribed from Friedlein.

$\overline{\sigma\,\xi\,\varepsilon}$	265		
$\overline{\sigma\,\xi\,\varepsilon}$	265		
$\overline{\overset{\delta}{M}\,\overset{\alpha}{M}\,{}'\beta\,{}'\alpha}$	40,000,	12,000,	1,000.
$\overset{\alpha}{M}\,{}'\beta\,\gamma\,\overline{\chi}\,\overline{\tau}$	12,000,	3,600,	300.
${}'\alpha\,\overline{\tau}\,\overline{\chi\,\varepsilon}$	1,000,	300,	25.
$\overset{\zeta}{M}\,\overline{\sigma\,\chi\,\varepsilon}$		70,225.	

A glance at the operations teaches us, that the Greeks, instead of beginning to multiply with the lowest denomination and ascending, as we do, followed the contrary order. Division to the early Greeks was only a species of subtraction, the divisor being subtracted from the dividend till the divisor exceeded the remainder. Later on, the accountant guessed at the quotient; and if, on multiplying it by the divisor, the product was too small, the operation was repeated, till the remainder was smaller than the divisor. The Greeks, however, never had the idea expressed by our word quotient.[2] What we call quotient, they regarded as the denominator of a fraction, the numerator being one. Like the Egyptians, they sought to reduce all fractions to fractions with the numerator one, or, to the sum of a series of such fractions. The fraction $\frac{2}{3}$ was an exception to this rule. The Babylonians transmitted to the Greeks their duodecimal and sexagesimal system; the latter being extensively used in high mathematical problems with large numbers.

Such, in brief outline, was the method of reckoning used by

[1] Friedlein, pp. 74-5.

[2] Friedlein, *Ibid.*, p. 79.

the Greeks. Was it taught in their schools? Grasberger, followed by Girard, maintains that this was the case, even before the Peloponnesian war (430 B.C.). He cannot understand how a commercial city, like Athens, could fail to make this useful accomplishment a part of every boy's education. The argument seems convincing. Still, no Greek author and no inscription confirms it. On the contrary, Aristotle[1] tells us that the usual branches of instruction, in his day, were letters, gymnastics, music, and sometimes drawing. Some modern writers suggest, that ciphering is included in γράμματα (letters). It is true that letters were also figures. But, ciphering on paper certainly belongs to a relatively late period; it was not till the Alexandrine period, as we have seen, that it became common.[2] Besides, the very fact that Socrates, according to Xenophon,[3] *insisted* that simple arithmetic should be learnt, seems to suggest that there was need of such insistence. Moreover, we must not measure the fifth century before Christ by our own times. No doubt, finger computation was common, and transmitted from generation to generation, as our children, for instance, learn much simple arithmetic by playing dominos or *loto*. For the petty tradesman, no doubt, this method of reckoning sufficed. In larger establishments, of course, the abacus was used. But, as up to quite recent times, book-keeping was an art learnt in the counting-house, not in the schools, and as, even to-day, abbreviated methods of computation are learned there, so, there is no absurdity in supposing that reckoning by means of the abacus and higher commercial arithmetic in general, including the computation of interest, were learned in the Greek counting-houses. To us, therefore, it seems likely that Aristotle literally meant what he said, *i.e.*, that arithmetic was not taught in schools in his time (384–322 B.C.). In short, during the first period of Greek education, we may assume, without great fear of error, that, except perhaps incidentally, arithmetic was no part of the general course of instruction.

Music, during the first of the two periods into which we have divided the history of education in Greece, was regarded as a most important branch of youthful training. By its means, the Greek philosophers tell us, the Greek lad was taught morality, piety, and patriotism. Why music should be so highly valued, may puzzle us moderns. We associate it with amusement and frivolity. Not so, the Greeks. Their wisest philosophers, as well as that embodiment of common sense, the plain citizen, were convinced of its supreme usefulness. To the sages, the harmonious

[1] Aristotle, *Polit.*, viii., 2, p. 259, göttl.
[2] Günther, *ibid.*, pp. 236–37.
[3] Xenophon, *Memor.*, iv., 7, 8.]

combination of sounds, according to the laws of music, symbolized the harmonious working together of the members of the commonwealth, under the moral and civil law. Music was the fittest means of teaching order. To the Greeks at large, every tradition, national, provincial, and domestic, suggested the close connection between music on the one side, and religion and patriotism on the other. Music added splendor and interest to the sacred and national games celebrated at Olympia, Delphi, and Corinth. Soul-stirring music invested the rites of Apollo and Dionysius with solemnity and impressiveness. Music, sad or gay, resounded at Greek weddings and funerals, their vintage and harvest festivals. The sacred hymns, which the father had helped to sing in his youth, he taught or had taught to his sons, who handed them down to their children. The needs of Greek worship naturally made music a part of education, and a powerful means of teaching piety, morals, and love of country to the young. Let us call to mind the soul-stirring effects of the Marseillaise, or Haydn's Austrian Hymn, or the lasting influence exercised on the German or Italian maiden by some hymn to the Madonna which she learnt in her childhood. We can then understand how their grave and majestic hymns moulded the spirit of the simple and impressible sons of Hellas. Of course, it was not music alone that achieved this result; it was the union of music and undying poetry. This is what Plato and Aristotle mean when they speak of the soul-training power of music. This is what was meant by the music taught the lads in the glorious days of old Athens. At that time, music without words was hardly known; it was surely not taught in the Athenian schools.

The music teacher at Athens was called *citharist*, because he taught the lyre or *citharis*. We have the authority of Quintilian, based on the testimony of the mimographer Sophron (400 B.C.), and the comic writer, Eupolis (429 B.C.), that the same men taught both reading and music. The association of literary and music teachers on the same vase paintings favors this statement. Indeed, in early times the *citharist* probably was, in most cases, also a grammatist. The scholar took up the study of music only after he had mastered the arts of reading and writing. As the citharist's instruction included the explanation of the words of the hymns or songs to be learnt by his pupil, as well as of their metres, the lad must certainly have known how to read.

What were the hymns and songs taught by the citharist? To be frank, the old Greek writers give us but scanty information on the subject. Aristophanes mentions[2] two songs he learned from

[1] *Institutiones Orationi*, i., 10, 17.

[2] *Clouds*, Ch. 967.

the citharist as a boy. He designates them by their first words, as is often done to-day. "Pallas the terrible city-destroyer;" so began the hymn of the famous composer Lamprocles (476 B.C.). "The far-resounding strains of the lyre" was a dithyramb of the poet Cydias or Cydides. The religious character of the former is self-evident. Polybius,[1] in speaking of the Arcadians—among whom music was esteemed as the quintessence of culture—reports that their children, first of all, learned the hymns and pæans, in which, following the custom of their fathers, they celebrate the gods and heroes of their country, and then the more artistic strains of the singers Timotheos and Philoxenos. Annually, at their festivals, they gave exhibitions, at which the youths in chorus, accompanied by the sounds of the flute, went through all the evolutions of manly battles. Religion and patriotism, we see, were the chief and inspiring themes of the songs learned by the Hellenic lad. These he learned by heart, and sang, accompanying himself on the lyre. In the good old times no other form of stringed instrument was used in school. To judge from several vase paintings that have come down to us, the scholar sang and played, repeating the strains first played for him by the master. In one genre picture of this kind the citharist beats time both with his foot and a branch he has in his right hand. That boys were sometimes taught to play from notes, especially in later times, we may safely admit. At the same time, as the Greek artists progressed in technical skill, the simple, severe music sung by the men who had fought at Marathon and Salamis steadily decayed. Aristophanes sorrowfully bears witness to the new-fangled trills and roulades introduced by the composer Phrynis, and to the wholesome thrashings administered by the citharist to scholars who were too ambitious to be content with the plain singing of their fathers. But neither the citharist's birchings nor the poet's denunciation could stop the current of the growing evil. The songs of the fathers, the hymns and the *volkslied* were discarded, and trilling *virtuosi* displayed their new-born arts. Before long the old national music died out in the schools; the citharist was replaced by masters who excelled in feats of technical skill; Greece became the stalking-ground of warbling professionals and ambitious amateurs.

The lyre was the national instrument of the Greeks and the instrument chiefly taught in school. At Thebes, however, the flute, or, rather, an instrument resembling the clarionet, was popular. For a time it was practiced at Athens too; but as flute-playing distorted the face and prevented the player from singing, it

[1] Polybius, iv., 207.

soon lost caste. To Alcibiades is attributed the downfall of the flute.

With one further remark we may dismiss the Greek music-master. As we have seen, music was greatly prized as a means of education; it must not be supposed, however, that every Greek lad frequented the citharist's school. The musical course followed that of the grammatist—was its completion, so to say. Many a father, we may be sure, felt he had done his duty to his son when he had paid for his elementary education. Sophroniscus, the father of Socrates, was one of these; for the great philosopher did not learn to play the lyre until far advanced in years. Still, Sophroniscus, if not a wealthy man, was a statuary of some mark, and left his son a modest inheritance. The great Themistocles, a man of high birth, when asked to play the lyre at a banquet, confessed that he had not learned to play the instrument. He was, therefore, regarded as deficient in refinement, Quintilian says. But when men like Themistocles failed to learn the lyre, we may well doubt that music was a universal accomplishment. As higher education in modern times, even when open to all without expense, nevertheless remains the privilege of the few, so in ancient Greece, in all likelihood, only the minority enjoyed the advantage of the citharist's training.

No part of Greek education has called forth more enthusiastic praise from some modern writers than their gymnastics. In Germany especially, and to a lesser degree in France, the admiration expressed for Greek physical culture has been without stint. Perhaps the slight attention formerly given to the bodily training of young lads in those countries accounts, to a great extent, for this enthusiasm. No doubt the wise educator will insist on the harmonious development of the youth committed to his care, and will not train the mind and heart only, slighting the body. But there is much to be said in favor of Mr. Mahaffy's[1] view, that the training of the English public-school boy at Eton and Rugby is superior, both from the physical and the moral side, to Greek gymnastics. The sports and exercises of the English lad are the natural product of youth and pluck; they are practiced spontaneously, with little or no interference on the part of the masters. They demand far more spirit, more ingenuity in planning, more quickness of observation and judgment, and bring out more physical effort on the part of the participants than a monotonous succession of exercises in leaping, running, quoit- and spear-throwing and wrestling under a teacher's direction, even if we add the stimulating power of emulation. Such games as baseball and cricket, moreover, require combined action on the part of the

[1] J. P. Mahaffy, *Old Greek Education*, pp. 21 ff.

players and subordination to a self-imposed captain. These cannot fail to be an excellent training in many of the civic virtues demanded in a modern free state. We may well hesitate to join the chorus of honest Helleno-maniacs who would go back two thousand years and re-establish universally the Athenian palæstra.

But putting aside this question, let us go back to Greece and study the athletic training of the Greek lad at school. Athletic sports are mentioned even in Homer, not only as a preparation for military service, but as a matter of social amusement. Pausanias[1] makes Theseus the founder of the first Athenian gymnastic school. There are reasons, however, for thinking that systematic athletics under a teacher were of comparatively recent origin. It is true that Solon's laws (595 B.C.), as quoted by Æschines, forbid the gymnasiarch to allow the presence of strangers in the gymnasium, and especially the presence of slaves in the palæstra. But the gymnasium, it is certain, was not intended for schoolboys. The word palæstra, also, though the usual name of a boy's athletic school, is also used for the training-place of youths and men. Possibly, therefore, the law does not refer to athletic schools at all. Besides, the authenticity of the text of Æschines is not above suspicion. We certainly do not meet with the *pædotribe* (παιδοτρίβης), or teacher of athletics, until the Peloponnesian war (about 420 B.C.)[2]. We know of no other older word to designate the training-master at Athens. It is very doubtful, therefore, whether athletic schools existed long before this time. At all events—although, because of their frequent wars, it was of direct and great interest to the Athenians not to neglect their children's physical education—athletic schools (*palæstræ*) were not maintained by the state. Like the literary schools, they were private undertakings, kept by the teacher for his own account. Nor were boys under fourteen obliged to follow a course of gymnastics, though in Aristotle's time youths (ἔφηβοι) took a prescribed course of athletics as a part of their military drill,[3] as is done in Germany to-day. The lads received a daily stipend from the state while undergoing the ephebic training, as did, likewise, their teachers. But this was towards the end of the fourth century B.C. Moreover, not until 300 B.C. do we meet with any trace of the Attic *epheby* either in our authors or in the inscriptions,[4] if we except Aristotle's newly-found works. But we are not now concerned with the *ephebi*, but with schoolboys and their gymnastic training.

Aristotle[5] advocates physical culture as the very starting point

[1] Pausanias, i., 39, 3.
[2] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 973.
[3] Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, § 42.
[4] A. Dumont, *Essai sur l'Ephébie Attique*, p. 3.
[5] Aristotle, *Polit.*, viii., 3.

of education. Plato, too, in his Laws, advises that a boy's gymnastic training should begin in his seventh year.[1] Grasberger and others inferred from this that the athletic school was the very first school to which Greek boys were sent. Later writers, however, regard this inference as hasty. Notwithstanding the great genius of these two philosophers, their views on politics and education seem to have received little recognition in practice. In any case we have no evidence to prove that their views on early physical training were accepted anywhere in Greece. A comparison of vase pictures representing training and other schools leads Girard[2] to conclude that the scholars of pædotribes represented on these pictures are older, not younger, than the grammatists' pupils. The young athletes are from fourteen to seventeen years of age. Only after they had been taught by the grammatist for some time, therefore, did the Greek lads take up the athletic courses.

The place where school-boys were taught gymnastics was called the *palæstra*. The name *gymnasium* was given to the physical training-schools of youths and adults. At first the palæstra was simply a piece of open ground set apart for the pædotribe's use; later the open ground was surrounded by a covered porch for protection against rain. Here the pupils were taught to practice leaping, wrestling, throwing quoits (*discus*) and spears. Strange to say, according to Grasberger, what chiefly distinguished the gymnasium from the palæstra was the absence of a race-course in the latter. It appears incredible that running should be wanting in the athletic exercises of the younger boys. Mahaffy, therefore, is probably right in assuming that the race-course lay just outside of the palæstra. If we enter a palæstra or gymnasium the first objects we remark are some statues of a bearded god. They represent Hermes, the guardian god of the young. At Athens, as at Rome, the gods are omnipresent. At one side we see a sinewy man with a light mantle (the *chlamys*) thrown over his shoulder and armed with a rod. It is the pædotribe, and his cane is an ominous threat to the unruly and the unskilful. The palæstra, as well as the race-course, is well covered with loose sand. This protects the practising youngsters against bodily hurt. The boys,—and this is equally true of the young men and adults in the gymnasium,—are completely stripped. Some are engaged in sports, others stand chatting or squat on the sand. See yonder lad just preparing to leap! Young slaves are rubbing him vigorously with sweet oil, the regular preliminary of all athletics. What sounds are those we hear from yonder corner? A fifer's ringing notes

[1] Plato, *De Legibus*, vii., p. 794.

[2] Girard, *Éducation Athénienne*, pp. 196 ff.

help to secure grace and regularity of movement.[1] He is ready now. The master seizes a pair of weights, takes position and essays a distance jump; high leaps seem not to be included in the programme. The boy takes his weights (*halteres*) and follows suit. He is a natural acrobat, and generous applause is his reward. Turn again to the master; he throws the discus or quoit by way of teaching another boy. A half hour's attendance enables us to understand the system of teaching. The master shows how the feat is done; the pupil imitates him. Here is a pair of wrestlers. They face each other standing, struggle and writhe, never exchanging blows, but striving to throw each other down so as to make the shoulders touch the ground. Another pair are rolling in the sand, now one on top, then the other. Their aim is the same as that of the standing wrestlers; each makes desperate efforts to pin his opponent's shoulder to the ground. Look! At last the dark wrestler has forced the blonde to the ground three times. The victory is his. Meanwhile, alongside of the palæstra boys are running through the thick sand of the race-course. They, too, are naked. But this heavy sand is a bad handicap. Great speed is hard to achieve. How far do they run? The race-course extends one *stadium* (one-eighth of a mile, three short squares in New York) in a straight line. The first race is already over; the sprinters covered the stadium once. But here another race begins. The contestants are taller and older, and they return after reaching the further end of the course. They have run a quarter of a mile. The young men, we are told, sometimes run twenty-four stadia, or three miles. But let us go back to the palæstra. They are now throwing the spear.[2] Seizing the weapon by the middle, the spearsman aims at a mark, now on the wall of the porch, again on the ground. To guard against accidents the spear has been stripped of its iron head and is in reality but a wooden shaft. The throwing is over. What is the object of the lads running, compass in hand, to the place where the spear struck? They are ascertaining the comparative skill of the contestants by exact measurements. But school time is over. The boys are getting ready for home. Some have called slaves to scrape off the remains of the oil[3] with which they had been rubbed; others are putting on their mantles or taking their canes, for our Athenian youth is fond of carrying a cane. Here two brothers are joining their pedagogue, who had guided them to the palæstra and is now taking them home.

[1] Girard, *Éducation Athéniènne*, p. 192. informs us that many vase pictures establish the statement of Athenæus that this was the case.

[2] Cf. Girard, *Éducation Athéniènne*, pp. 203, ff.

[3] In later times baths were attached to some public palæstræ, but water was usually not plentiful in Greek cities.

So much for the education of the palæstra. We must not forget to mention, that the pedotribe, was supposed strictly to safeguard his scholar's morals, and that the state appointed officers to look after this. The gymnic exercises, apart from their being a preparation for real war, were supposed to make the body hardy and the limbs supple; to develop manliness, the power of enduring pain, and self possession and sureness of judgment in presence of danger. Ikkos of Tarentum and Herodikos of Selymbria utilized gymnastics for hygienic and curative purposes, and met with considerable success and approval. During the Peloponnesian War there was a palæstra in every deme at Athens. But even in the days of Aristophanes the Athenians began to neglect their gymnastic training, and when they lost their independence its decay was rapid. Even instruction in gymnastic exercise, though athletics are so closely akin to sport, must have its *raison d'être* in utility.

Examinations were unknown in the earlier period of the Greek schools. Closely connected with the classification of scholars, examinations can hardly be looked for where the existence of classes is doubtful. The gymnastic exhibitions, which were the chief features of the Hermeia, a boy's festival, may be regarded as a kind of public examination of the pupils of the *palæstræ*. Perhaps we may take the same view of the Museia, at which hymns were recited by the scholars of the grammatist. Subsequently to 300 B.C. the Athenians were examined in writing at the end of the year. The Teian inscription, of which we have made repeated use, informs us, that in Téos there was a competitive examination of all the children in the village school.[1] That the pupils of the Diogeneion schools at Athens were subject to examinations we learn from Plutarch. These examinations, Girard thinks,[2] determined the admission of the scholars to be *Ephebi*. The *ephebi* were certainly subject to examinations testing their progress in military science.

If we know little of examinations in Greek schools, we know less of vacations. "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," is a principle expressed by more than one Greek sage. But what the schoolmaster's opinion on this question was, is not so clear. He certainly disliked to forego his monthly stipend. Probably he abhorred long vacations to the utmost. Kottalos, the young scamp in the Mimiambs of Herondas, knows the seventh and the twentieth of each month, better than an astronomer, and the approach of these holidays or any other play days granted by the teacher prevent the boy from sleeping. We see, there is question of free *days* only. From Theophrastus[3] (320 B.C.), however, we

[1] Girard, *op. cit.*, p. 133. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 56. [3] Characters, 30.

learn that the greater part of the month Anthesterion (February–March) was vacation time in Athens. No wonder that Kottalos lost his sleep, thinking of a play day, when only two or three holidays a month were allowed to the Greek school boy.

We have attempted to give the reader a sketch of Greek education in its earliest phases. After the Peloponnesian War and especially since the Macedonian period (350 B.C.) changes greatly transformed this simple instruction. The political revolutions, which so radically altered the internal and external conditions of Athens and of most other Greek States, could not fail to affect the development of education. But the influence of the Sophists, and other philosophers proved even more powerful both in a constructive and a destructive sense. As we have already seen, the athletic and musical training of the Greek people soon felt the effects of political dependence and of the new intellectual forces hostile to the national faith. When fighting ceased to be one of the presumptive occupations of the conquered Greek, the State no longer laid much stress on the military training of its youth. Besides the philosopher, whose weapons are the mind and the tongue for the most part, did not feel the importance of physical culture. How fatal the speculations of almost every philosophic school were to official polytheism is well known. Xenophanes sternly denounced the gods of Homer, Plato thought their morals scandalous, Euhemerus held them to be deified men, the comic poets lampooned them when they were forbidden to lampoon the Athenian demagogues. No wonder that the religious feelings of the masses gradually wasted away, and that the old hymns in honor of Athene and Phœbus were replaced by love and wine songs. But the work of the philosophers and especially of the sophists was not only destructive. In the domain of education they also built up. The work of the grammatist became extended and this was followed by the division of labor. The rhetorical scholars of Gorgias and Protagoras, and subsequently of Lysias and Isocrates, must know more than the graduates of the grammatist had learnt, perhaps than their master himself knew. Intermediate schools sprang up to fill the gap. The *grammatikos* (γραμματικός) appeared, and with him more systematic instruction in composition, criticism and the newly-born science of grammar in our modern sense. Then with the growth of science we meet with the same spectacle which we witness now. Science set up her claims and arithmetic (as a part of geometry), and geometry found their place in the pædagogic course of the ambitious youth; astronomy, too, had its advocates like Plato and Isocrates. The demands of practical life also were urged. Along side of commercial reckoning, short-hand (tachygraphy), and probably descriptive geography, drawing makes

its appearance on the scene. Drawing indeed seems to have been a feature of what we may call common school education. Aristotle, as was stated above, names it as one of the four branches of the usual course of instruction, which to repeat his words were letters, gymnastics, music and *according to some*, drawing. The elder Pliny awards to the painter Pamphilos of Sicyon, a contemporary of Aristotle (350 B.C.), and the teacher of the great painter Apelles, the credit of making drawing a regular subject of instruction in Sicyon. How far the example of Sicyon found imitators, we cannot determine precisely. Sure it is, that at Teos the students of the second or middle course practiced drawing. This fact, as well as Aristotle's remark, proves that Pamphilos and his friends, succeeded in extending the experiment far beyond the limits of their own city. With the methods followed by Greek elementary drawing teachers, we are unfortunately little acquainted. They drew on boxwood panels, sometimes with pencil sometimes with brushes. At times, also, they drew on wax tablets. At Sicyon, special teachers taught this subject, though this may not be true of other places. So much seems certain, however, that drawing did not long remain popular. It does not appear as a part of Greek encylopædic education, and Quintilian, who wishes his young orator to master almost every conceivable accomplishment from geometry to dancing, does not include drawing in his programme. We may, therefore, assume that it was no longer regarded with favor in Quintilian's time (about 90 A.D.).

To sum up: The differences that characterize post-Macedonian primary education from that of the earlier period are the following: 1. The appearance of the *grammatikos*. 2. The introduction of drawing and probably arithmetic as branches of education. 3. The decay of gymnastics and music contemporaneously with the appearance of professional *virtuosi* and acrobats. 4. The gradual systematization of the schools, both as regards subjects and classes. 5. The appearance of state supported and endowed schools. 6. The spread of female education.

Though it is hardly a matter of dispute that the *grammatikos*, a professionally trained man, taught some of the higher branches formerly in the hands of the grammatist or citharist, we shall not attempt here to define his sphere and describe his work. This, it appears to us, belongs rather to secondary education, and may properly be omitted here. The same may be said of the other branches, such as *tachygraphy*, *geometry*, not to speak of the teaching of foreign languages.

We, therefore, end here our sketch of Greek primary education. On reviewing the story we have told, more than one characteristic feature must attract our attention. The threefold character of

Greek education has been so often commented upon that we need not dwell on it at great length. No doubt it gave to the Greek lad a more symmetrical training than has fallen to the lot even of most modern boys. This harmonious development of mind and body, however, it seems, was less the product of philosophic theory than of tradition and the requirements of Greek life. It is not strange, then, that the time when Greek philosophy, having reached its height, turned its especial attention to the problems of education, was also the time when Greek education began to lose its symmetrical character. Physical culture and music decayed in the schools of Athens, though Plato and Aristotle raised their voices in their support. Why? Because the life of the post-Macedonian Greeks found no practical use for these branches of the old education.

What strikes us, perhaps most of all, in studying the literary education of Greece in its palmy days, from the age of Pisistratus, let us say, to the end of the Peloponnesian war, is its simplicity and apparent ideality. Arithmetic, drawing, geography, even writing, if we mean by writing, writing rapidly and well, were banished from the Greek schoolmaster's realms. Reading was the only and universal exercise, and reading meant the reading of poetry only. As has already been said, this was almost a necessity, at least in the earlier part of the period we are considering. There was little or no prose to read. But if the tree is to be judged by its fruit, this simple and idealistic schooling, which trained the greatest men and the most famous artists and writers of Athens; the men that rolled back the tide of Persian invasion; the men that built and adorned the immortal monuments of the Acropolis; the men like Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, who have been the despair of succeeding poets and the admiration of scholars, must have been well fitted to foster and ripen the germs of Athenian genius, both political and literary. Certain it is that the introduction of new utilitarian elements into the Greek schools neither strengthened the national character nor produced poets equal in fame and merit to the bards of the Periclean age. Eloquence, it is true, reached its zenith after the new education had struck firm roots in Attic soil, and the new comedy was made illustrious by the names of Menander and Philemon. Philosophy, too, the seeds of which had been sown in the days of the earlier education, and which had produced a harvest of great thinkers from Thales to Plato, is illustrated by the resplendent name of Aristotle. But take it, all in all, the glories of Hellenic genius never shone forth more brilliantly than when simplicity and concentration were the most marked characteristics of Greek education. Concentration means power and depth, while diffusion in

teaching, πολυμαθία, as the Greeks called it, begets superficiality and shallowness in thinking, and leads to intellectual paralysis. Perhaps the educational tinkers and theorists of to-day might well direct some of their baneful activity to the study of the simple old Greek education and its fruits.

The importance attached by the Greeks to the moral and religious element in education is another feature well deserving our attention. That the schoolmasters of the great Eastern empires, Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, should give a leading place in their schools to morals and religion, was to be expected; education, there, was substantially in the hands of the priesthood. But in Greece, where the state left education entirely free, where those taught who chose to do so, and where all schools were private undertakings, ethical and religious instruction had its roots in the instincts and traditions of the people. They felt that it was needed for the prosperity of the nation and the individual. When we call to mind, that Hellenic religion was a religion without dogma, a system of ritual, observances, and devotional practices, it is all the more noteworthy that the subject of the most advanced instruction, that given by the citharist, was, in its essential, religious instruction. The bright intellectual, and withal, gay Hellenic race, in this way expresses, in the strongest, most pointed manner, its sense of the great and overshadowing importance it attached to moral and religious teaching. In the palmy days of their independence and prosperity, the Greeks held fast to this view. When the disintegrating forces of Hellenic philosophy undermined, not only their religious system, but their religious instincts; when, as a consequence, the old religious and moral education broke down; then, too, patriotism and morals decayed in Greece, and the sun of her glory set forever.

Lastly, Greek education was the outcome of the people's needs, not of theory. If, notwithstanding, it was a harmonious system, complete and well rounded, this was the result, not of Greek idealism, nor of philosophic wisdom, but of happy circumstances. When those circumstances changed, the symmetry disappeared, and neither the voice of tradition nor the warnings of the sages could save it. Utilitarianism had begotten it; utilitarianism killed it. Should not this caution us against shaping our education chiefly or exclusively in accordance with utility? Utility in the nineteenth century means materialism; and matter is not the principle of life.

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JOSEPH DE MAISTRE.

"Savoie, ô mon pays! berceau de mes aïeux,
Climat doux á mon cœur, qui vis maitre mon père
Sous un modeste toit ou la vertu fut chère."

THE de Maistre family, though destined to become one of the principal glories of the Savoy of to-day, were not originally a Savoyard family. Like some old families of Norman ancestry who, settling in Ireland and intermarrying there became, as was said of them, "Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores:" the Maistre race (for it was the famous Count Joseph himself who first adopted the particle) were originally natives of the south, and came from fair and sunny Languedoc; whence, towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, that branch of it from which the subject of this memoir sprung, had migrated to Nice, then attached to the Duchy of Savoy.

Early in the eighteenth century, and in the reign of Charles Emmanuel III. of Savoy, the representative of the Maistre family was a certain lawyer, François Xavier Maistre by name, who, after taking his degree at the University of Turin, where Piedmontais, Niçois, and Savoyards alike passed their examinations, had returned to Nice to exercise his profession in the office of the *Avocat-fiscal-general*, in that city; and, at the early age of thirty-four, was summoned thence, by royal orders, to take up the post of senator in the capital, where the king was then engaged in revising and reforming the existing legal and educational systems.

It was in the month of February, 1740, that the young lawyer first set foot in Chambéry, having quitted the olive groves and vineyards of Nice to enter upon the long and snow-bound winter of the Savoyard region. On the posts which he successfully filled, and on the work which he accomplished during a long and blameless life, we cannot now enlarge; suffice it to say that Savoyard history would probably have better noted his name, had it not been overshadowed by the world-wide renown of his son. Years passed; the youthful magistrate had attained his forty-fourth year without even dreaming of matrimony, absorbed as he was in legal work and business interests; when at length the fair face of one of his fellow-magistrate's daughters, Christine Demoty, stirred for the first time the pulses of the sober Avocat Général. She was twenty-one years younger than himself; clever, pious, cultured, and perhaps by the very strength of the exceptional education she had received from her devoted father, was

better able than another to appreciate the qualities of the wooer who laid his talents and his honorable name at her feet. He was accepted; and the marriage took place on the 7th of April, 1750; the young couple taking up their abode in the ancient Place de Lans, now Place de l'Hotel de Ville. Here, on the 1st of April, 1753, Joseph-Marie, their first son and third child was born, and baptized the same day. He was one of fifteen children, ten of whom survived their parents, and one of the younger of whom, Xavier, has also left behind him a name in literature.

So little has been known of young Joseph's early life that he used to be written of in such terms as these: "Joseph de Maistre was forty years old. But before that, what? Where was he born? Where educated? What blood was in his veins? What his private life? On all which points his biographers are silent or indefinite in their information." Happily for the reader of to-day, however, a devoted admirer of Comte de Maistre's genius has bestowed much pains on a work which is even now appearing, volume by volume, from his enthusiastic pen, in which some scanty details—all that his most painstaking research can glean—may be obtained. From it we learn that his father and mother enjoying but a modest fortune—having, as we have seen, a numerous family—the home circle was one of some severity, rigorous in discipline and economy. Their father, grave and austere, divided his days between the courts, the church (for he was very devout, and paid frequent, if not daily visits to the neighboring church) and their modest "hotel" or home. The mother—that brilliant yet serious girl-student, whose early days had been passed among rare folios and curious manuscripts, the tragedies of Racine and the commonplaces of Corneille (for old Demoty was a bookworm and book collector)—became, as mothers should, the first educator of her little flock, whom she inspired with a passionate devotion that knew no bounds. Her eldest son spoke of her in after years as "ma sublime mère" and "l'ange auquel Dieu avait prêté un corps"; and years afterwards, when that loving heart had long been dust, he wrote of her to his own little daughter as follows: "I did not understand it (the poetry of Racine) when my mother used to come and repeat it beside my bed at night, and soothe me to sleep with her sweet voice to the sound of that incomparable music. I knew hundreds of lines by heart long before I could read, and my ears, having so early drunk in this ambrosia, were never afterwards able to suffer *sourer wine*." ("Piquette" is the word he uses—the sour, thin, "second shot" of wine, as we should say "small beer.") These few and simple words seem to lift a corner of the curtain which veils his youth, and shows us one glimpse of the tender and sympathetic affection which existed

between mother and son. With him, her "first-born son," as, perhaps, with no other, did Christine Maistre indulge in all her poetic instincts, her literary tastes, and that

> "Yearning for the beautiful, denied her,
> With sense of loss,"

which her multifarious daily duties must have given her so little time, in married life, to develop. And he responded to the fullest extent. "My greatest happiness was to divine beforehand what she wished from me, and I was as much in her hands as was the youngest of my sisters."

His loving obedience to his parents is, in fact, recorded by his son and first biographer, who relates that when the play hours (in which little Joseph amused himself at will in their garden, either alone or with his sisters) came to an end, it sufficed for his father to show himself, without speaking, at the garden door, and the boy would instantly lay aside toy and spade, never once allowing himself to give "a last throw" to ball or kite. Later on, when Joseph was studying law at Turin, as a youth, he never read a new book without first writing to either his father or mother, to ask permission to do so.

From the age of five years, Joseph had a tutor at home, one of whose duties was to take the child twice daily to pay a visit to his maternal grandfather old Senator Demoty, who, having no son of his own, was devoted to this, his first grandson. The old man, as we have said, had literary tastes, and lived surrounded by books, and these daily visits, doubtless, tended to guide the boy's mind in the same direction. Indeed, it was thanks to his grandfather's library, which he ultimately inherited, that the future writer became so thoroughly conversant as he was with classic literature.

Monsieur and Madame Maistre were, like most pious people, very devoted to the Jesuits, and early placed their eldest son under the good fathers' guidance, both as regarded secular education and spiritual direction. He, therefore, studied at the Collège des Jesuites, and belonged to one of the various confraternities in which, with their usual zeal for souls, they had gathered together the youth of Chambéry, whom they guided by frequent spiritual exercises, including an annual retreat, in which our hero took part up to the time of their suppression by the Bull of Pope Clement XIV. But before this time a little incident had occurred in the "Hotel de Salino," which is noticed by all his biographers as having made a deep impression upon him. One day little Joseph, who was scarcely ten years old, was playing in his mother's room. It was at the time when the French government had just passed the decree expelling the Jesuits from France, and

the news had now reached Chambéry and was in every mouth. "On a chassé les Jesuites!" Literally, "They have hunted the Jesuits." Childlike, he jumped noisily over stools and chairs, singing, as he went, "On a chassé les Jesuites! On a chassé les Jesuites!" His mother heard him and turned sharply upon him. "Never speak so! Never say that, my son! One day you will understand that it is one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall religion!" She spoke in so pained a tone that the child never forgot her words, and all his life long he stood forth as the stoutest of champions for the order. "I love nothing so much as family feeling," he wrote, sixty-seven years later, in a characteristic outburst at the end of a letter in which he had warmly defended the interests of the society of Jesus. "My grandfather loved the Jesuits, my father loved them, my sublime mother loved them, I love them, my son loves them, his son shall love them, if the king permits him to have one."

At the age of fifteen, Joseph was admitted into the confraternity of "les penitents noirs," a somewhat ghastly honor, as it appears to modern minds, for so young a boy. The "penitents noirs" of Chambéry somewhat resembled as to garb the famous brethren of the misericordia at Florence, and was a shrouded brotherhood where prince and peasant, duke and artisan, stood side by side to carry the sick to refuge, or bury the dead. These brethren of Chambéry were very frequently told off to assist at the public execution of criminals, and it was their special duty to pass the last night in the cell of the condemned, to mount the scaffold with him, and to receive his dead body from the hands of the executioner for burial.

When we remember that not only murder, but involuntary homicide, theft, and other lighter crimes were at that time commonly punishable with death, we may guess that these lugubrious spectacles were not infrequent, to say nothing of that still more horrible punishment, being "broken on the wheel," which de Maistre in his "Soirées de St. Petersburg" has described too vividly not to have often witnessed it. His grandfather presented him with the office book and habit on his entry, and in one of his letters, some forty years afterwards (in 1819), when referring to his various dignities at the Court of St. Petersburg, he remarks that "they," the persons who had expressed some jealousy of him, "are not aware that among my other offices I am a *penitent noir* at Chambéry. It is all that remains to me of my country." It was his first dignity, and he would fain have made it his last.

Hardly had he entered his seventeenth year, when his father sent him to the University of Turin to study law, and keep his terms there, in preparation for his future career. From the ancient

Place de Lans, where his father's house stood, and where he first had seen the light, the clumsy old diligence of those days started at the appointed time on its long, slow journey along the plains of Maurienne, and across the pass of Mont Cenis, into Piedmont; just as the almost as antique looking omnibuses load and unload there now; and we can fancy the whole family gathered together round its door to speed the youthful traveller, and wave their last farewells. "Go, my child, and remember thy God, thy name, and thy mother!" whispered Christine, as she folded her son in her arms for a last embrace. He went, and for three years studied diligently, always looking back with loving regret to that dear home circle which he had left; always keeping up his regular, quiet life, his pious practices, his constant reference to parental authority. He made such rapid progress that at the age of nineteen years and a few days he received his doctor's degree, having previously passed all other examinations with *éclat*, and joyfully did he return to his native city, where he was to practice under his father as an *avocat*.

For a time it seemed as if the most peacefully happy of home lives was destined to be young Joseph's portion. Successful in his legal studies, he lived at home amid father, mother, brothers and sisters, a happy home circle, all tenderly attached to one another, and, practising with his father in the courts by day, returned home each evening to share the happy chatter and common interests of family life.

It seems that society at Chambéry, far from being the uncultured waste which outsiders have supposed it to be, was, at that time, a little community full of mental activity, with its scientific meetings, its literary reunions, its debates, its libraries and its *salons*, those typical eighteenth century centres of culture and *esprit*. Our Savoyard biographer, full of enthusiam for his native land, complains indignantly that "many people had difficulty in believing that Savoy was, before annexation in 1860, a country like others; they really seemed to think that this bit of earth was a kind of *Congo State*, fallen from the moon. Some asked, quite innocently, whether corn grew there, whether there was anything besides bare rocks in the province, and whether travellers bound for its capital should not bring with them their provisions of coal, groceries and potatoes! And this only thirty years ago! What must have been the popular idea of it a hundred years since?"

Those who knew the little kingdom, however, felt differently towards it, as witness Jean Jacques Rousseau, who spent no less than ten years there, and who testified that "it was Chambéry, and the education which he received there, which made him what he was." "It is a pity the Savoyards are not a richer people," he

wrote, "or, indeed, perhaps it would be a pity if they were; for as they are at present, they are the best and most amiable people that I know." Its social distinctions were most marked. First, the *noblesse*, "as poor and as proud as Job," with their ancient names and family traditions, and the haughty mottoes of their houses; that of the well-known family of *de Sales*, for instance, whence sprang our "gentleman saint," St. Francis, being "Antequam Abraham fieret, ego sum" (before Abraham was, I am)! while another saint, the founder of the Great St. Bernard monastery (which, perhaps, our readers, like ourselves, may erroneously have supposed to spring from St. Bernard, of Clairvaux), St. Bernard, of Menthon, boasted as his device the haughty words "Ante Christum natum jam eram baro"; "I was already a baron before Christ was born!" Then there was what we should call the "legal set," *la noblesse de robe*, or *la magistrature*, to which our hero belonged, and which formed a class apart, with its own traditions, friendships, alliances, associations. Joseph de Maistre's two companions and life-long friends, Sattern and Roze, were, like himself, of this class, which probably carried with it most of the intellect of the community. His third friend (and friendship in those days *was* friendship)! was the Marquis Henry Costa de Beauregard, at whose chateau, close to the Lake of Geneva, the two friends passed together, year by year, many happy hours.

The commerçants, or shopkeepers, and petits bourgeois made up another section of the community, and one treated with more consideration in Savoy than elsewhere, as it appears that even from the thirteenth century the inhabitants of Chambéry enjoyed the privilege of universal suffrage, by virtue of which they elected among themselves a "great" and a "little" council, which made and executed laws for the whole commune or city. No *bourgeois* could be imprisoned for debt or misdemeanor if he could furnish sureties, and, contrary to the usual practice of the Middle Ages, he was not bound to furnish men or material for war if undertaken by his sovereign on foreign States. At the time when revolution was nearing the neighboring kingdom of France, and its pernicious tide overflowed, as we shall see later, the smaller country, it was remarked that, though speaking the same tongue, wearing the same dress and discussing the same topics in everyday life, the morals and standard of our Savoyards were on a higher level, their manner of life more patriarchal—or, as we should now term it, old-fashioned—than those of their gayer neighbors. The sympathies of the people, however, inclined towards France rather than towards the land where lay their seat of government in Piedmont; and it is remarked as a somewhat curious phenomenon that, while gradually year by year the House of Savoy inclined

towards Italy and became more and more Italian in speech and interests, the people of Savoy, on the other hand, drew gradually towards France, so that when, in 1860, it became formally annexed to the larger country its people were already French at heart.

But to return to the Maistre family; a graft of Savoyard on Provençal stock, which, like all good grafts, bore fruit in increased intelligence and power. One of the younger sons, Xavier, the same who afterwards distinguished himself in literature by his graceful "Voyage autour de ma Chambre" and other works, was, at the epoch of which we write, giving small promise of future greatness. He was a lazy, silent, stupid-looking boy; idle over his lessons, *distrait* in everyday life to the point of "seeming to fall from the moon" every time any one addressed him, coming home from school every day with piles of ill-learnt lessons and punishment tasks and marks of the canings by which his teachers had striven in vain to chastise some learning into him, until his father, disgusted at the contrast between him and the good, plodding, hardworking elder son, and despairing of curing that inveterate inertia, sent him as a boarder to a priest, at some distance, with *carte blanche* to "do what he could" with the boy. The Abbé Isnard must have been a born educator of youth; for no sooner was young Xavier under his roof than intelligence and energy seemed to awake as if by magic under his influence. Unhappily, the boy had not been there many months when he fell ill with measles. His mother flew to nurse him, and, whether she caught some epidemic during her hurried journey or the disease from her child, was never clearly known; but, on her return home, she sickened of some kind of putrid fever, such as were only too common in those days, and died, leaving her family plunged in the most abject grief. Life was never the same for them afterwards. The sons and daughters wandered sadly about in the desolate rooms of that erewhile happy home, and there, one after another, they scattered, some to convents, the rest to battle with the world.

As Joseph de Maistre was *par excellence* all his life a defender of the Pope and of the Jesuits, Roman and Ultramontane above everything, our readers may be surprised to find that about this time (1773) he belonged to the Loge des Trois-Mortiers of Freemasons at Chambéry, and took, moreover, a somewhat prominent part among them. His latest biographer explains that freemasonry was not looked upon in the same light then as now; but was considered, at least by many of its members, somewhat in the light of a charitable association. Its occult ceremonies and the mysteries which surrounded it made many join it from no deeper

motive than a kind of childish curiosity, and de Maistre confesses frankly in his correspondence that such was his own case. "The only thing that vexes me," he writes to one of his friends, "is to find you seriously talking about that foolishness, freemasonry (cette niaiserie de francmaçonnerie), a kind of universal childishness on this side of the Alps, which you also would have taken part in had you lived amongst us, and with which I mixed myself up so little, since I have been taken up with other affairs that one day a deputation came to me asking whether I wished to be struck out of the list."

How far society was, then, from appreciating the importance of its presence among them may be gathered from poor Marie Antoinette's comments on the same fraternity, some years earlier: "Every one belongs to it, and one knows everything which passes there; where, then, is the danger? It is, in reality, a society for doing good, and for enjoyment. They eat a great deal, and make speeches, and sing. It is by no means a society of declared atheists, for, I am told, the name of God is in all their mouths. They are very charitable to the poor." . . . . And so on.

Much the same language has been used, in later years of the English Good Templars, and, as ignorantly, no doubt; but the Church has known how to deal with both. As we are on the subject, we may, for a moment, look forward to some years later, when the Comte de Maistre, with the mature judgment of a man of fifty-six, thus writes from St. Petersburg to a friend on the same question: "I am going to tell you to-day about a temptation which I have resisted, like St. Anthony. The Freemasons are going on here *a furia*, like everything else which is done in this country. I have been invited to join one of their new lodges; but, notwithstanding my extreme desire to know what is done there, I have refused, all reflections made, for several reasons, of which I will give you the two principal ones. First of all, I was aware that the Emperor has only reluctantly allowed these meetings; he yielded to his invincible reluctance to interfere with the individual liberty of his subjects, or hinder them making any arrangements they like. Secondly, I have found that many people (and some of the best) think evil of this association, and look on it as a revolutionary engine. So, it appears to me that one ought not to take an unnecessary step which alarms many sensible people. It costs me something, I assure you, not to be able to look into what is going on there."

But to return to the days of the Loge des Trois Mortiers, or Loge Blanche, as it appears to have been sometimes called. When the first echoes of Revolution were rumbling in the distance, and secret societies of all descriptions became more and

more numerous, the king (of Piedmont) grew uneasy on the subject of the Freemasons of Chambéry. Joseph de Maistre, their "Grand Orator," was despatched to Turin to submit to his majesty the list of names of their members, and, on reading it, the king remarked, "These names suffice to reassure me; but as at present all meetings, merely as meetings, are undesirable, they must no longer be held." The members of the Lodge in question replied by sending another deputy to assure his majesty, on the honor of each and all, that they would meet no more without his permission; and so, for the time being, this episode was at an end. De Maistre acted openly and loyally throughout; yet it seems, that ever after he had many enemies, and was looked upon with suspicion in quarters where he might have expected to meet with the approbation and appreciation which were undoubtedly his due. No one was ever more loyal, more Catholic, more clearsighted in his repudiation of "the new doctrines," than de Maistre, yet, he was reported to his own government as a "dangerous character, full of the new ideas," and his official career suffered in consequence; as, but for the prejudice against him, he would undoubtedly have been named President of the Senate of Savoy.

In the year 1775, the quiet little town of Chambéry—a capital, indeed, but a dethroned and empty capital, since its sovereigns had long removed their seat of government to Turin—saw its last pageant of semi-mediæval grandeur. The then king, Victor Amadeus III., a weak but amiable monarch, whom some have compared to the unhappy Louis XVI. of France, came with great pomp and splendor, surrounded by all his court, to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont, his heir, with *Madame Clotilde de France.* It was the third royal marriage which had had taken place between the houses of France and Savoy within the short space of four years, and there were not wanting those among the king's Piedmontese subjects who viewed this "triple alliance" with profound dissatisfaction, grumbling among themselves that, "nous voilà Français au moins pour trois générations." It was, in fact, from this time that the cabinet of Turin was suspected of harboring designs of bartering their fair provinces of Nice and Savoy to their stronger neighbors, "for a consideration," a geographical rectification of frontier lines which, as we know, time eventually brought about.

However, in this bright month of August, 1775, all was feasting and merriment in the good town of Chambéry. The king sold one of his palaces in Lyons, and spent the money in entertainments and fêtes at Chambéry, while his liege subjects there almost rivalled him in the extravagance of their expenditure, giving rise to a *bon mot* which has survived the lapse of time: "Ils ne

font que ce qu'ils doivent," remarked a lady of his court, in answer to the king's expressed surprise and gratification at the welcome accorded to him, "Oui, mais ils doivent, peutêtre, ce qu'ils font," replied the king.

So the fountains ran wine—there, in that very Place de l'Hotel de Ville which the bourgeoises of to-day trip lightly across, with their laden baskets of vegetables and fruit, their armsful of big waving *cardon*, their nets of salad and eggs; and all the long summer nights each house was illuminated, and its inhabitants danced and sang. The municipality ordered "two lighted candles in each window, under penalty of a fine," the people spontaneously placed double and treble that amount, and all went merrily. All through Savoy the rejoicings spread, among others in that brave little town of Rumilly—between Annecy and Aix—which, when summoned to yield before French armies in 1630, and warned that Chambèry and Annecy, its neighbors, had opened their gates, answered proudly "E capoë!" ("And if so?" or, as we should say, "what of that?") and yielded to force only, after a heroic resistance. Its haughty little saying became the motto of the town.

Monsieur le President Maistre was, of course, among the officials who presented addresses and solicitations to the king on his arrival and on the royal marriage. The visit was, as usual with the House of Savoy, a singular mixture of solemnity and familiarity; of etiquette and goodfellowship; these Savoyard kings, the wolf-princes as M. Thiers called them, were always *pères de famille* with their people; and this visit was said to have done much towards bringing back the spirit of loyalty among the people of Chambéry, who for some years previously had been somewhat estranged from their sovereign, on account of the incessant petty squabbles between themselves and the Piedmontese. The Italians frowned—the king was flattered, at the delicate attentions showered upon the Royal circle by all classes, during his visit; yet on leaving, he somewhat impatiently remarked that "these Savoyards are never contented; if it rained *sequins*, they would say that 'le bon Dieu' was breaking their slates.'"

Our Joseph Maistre, the staid young advocate whom we can picture moving here and there beside his lively friend the Chevalier Roze, helping to gather material for the latter's lengthy description of these gay doings which is still extant, was one among this animated crowd; now gazing reverentially at some bevy of court dames, now penetrating, with beating heart, into the interior of the palace where the lowest of his subjects is free to enter, and watch his master at his repast, "et s'enivrer du plaisir de le voir," as he wrote afterwards of that, to him, blissful period; and was not the least loyal of the Savoyard subjects of that "roi très bon."

He was only twenty-one years old, enthusiastic and impressionable, and this unwonted pageant, which came into their slow and sombre lives like a ray from another world, inspired him with his first work, a long and somewhat quaint treatise, called "L'Eloge de Victor Amadée III."

It is a touching little work. Touching, in its strange simplicity, its fervent loyalty, its unshaken faith. It seems like the last cry ever to be heard in this world of the old, loyal, unreasoning devotion of subjects to their "King by Divine Right." The fidelity of the Jacobite to the House of Stuart; the blind belief of the France of yesterday in Louis le Bienaimé; the shout of the Hungarian peasants before their woman-king; the old guard living in the smile or frown of their idol-emperor; and the Russian peasantry who, alone of all the peoples of to-day, still love, still believe in, their White Czar . . . . all this dead feudalism finds words in the youthful effusion of the future politician-prophet of courts and kings, on the eve of the first of revolutions.

To him, perhaps last of all modern writers, the king is "the Father of his people." Are there injustices? Are there abuses? The words "I will go and tell the king" arrests the most daring of ill-doers. Does the king, in his royal progress, remark on the poverty of some hamlet? "Sire," says a peasant, "there are no more sorrows when thou art amongst us; when one sees thee, one forgets one's misfortunes." "Oh! Prince," he cries out again, "rest on the heart of thy subjects; they are faithful to thee! Never wilt thou be safer than while we are around thee! When thou didst appear in the theatre, no one had eyes for aught save thee, and even beauty marvelled to find itself despoiled of its rights!"

As kindred spirits love to foregather, so Joseph de Maistre's friends, like himself, were much affected by the *cacoethes scribendi*, and loved to record their impressions in writing. Roze was a poet, and all three scribbled marginal notes and voluminous journals on every book and event which traversed their somewhat monotonous lives. It is thus that we are able to glean a very distinct account of the way in which they, and especially de Maistre, passed their days.

He was living, we may recollect, in his father's family house, the place of his birth, in the Place de Lans; for families seldom moved in those days; and here, rising summer and winter alike no later than four o'clock A.M., de Maistre, "after having offered his morning prayer to God, before the portrait of his beloved mother," shut himself up in his one refuge, "sa chère bibliothèque, son monde," to feast upon its treasures in solitude. We have already seen how his maternal grandfather, old Counsellor Demoty, had bequeathed to Joseph his much prized library of an-

cient volumes. The grandson added, from his own pocket money, many a volume more, and later on in life a further legacy from an acquaintance still further swelled their ranks; so that, as he recorded in his journal, "the Abbé Victor has left me his library, composed of 1132 volumes in 275 works, and calculating their worth at two-thirds of their original price, they represent 3680 livres. So that to-day, 24th September, 1791, my library, composed of 2534 volumes, is worth 8880 livres."

Surrounded then, by his beloved books, the future author read daily for several hours before betaking himself to his legal work, and thus laid the foundation of that profound classical knowledge which afterwards stood him in good stead. He read and studied at this time on an average never less than fifteen hours a day, only varying the occupation of his time by turning from Latin to algebra, or from law to Greek. He read English fluently, though he could not speak it, and we are told that not only was he conversant with all the classics in English literature, but that he and his two friends, like many of the youths of that day, followed with keen interest the struggle for independence then going on in America. He was gifted with a remarkable memory, and it is related that when only a schoolboy he learned by heart a whole book of the Æneid within twenty-four hours, and repeated it triumphantly to his schoolmates in answer to their challenge. Not long before his death some one reminded him of this boyish exploit, and he smilingly replied, "I believe I could repeat it as well now as I did then." As he read, he covered the margins of his books with notes and comments, and reading thus, pen in hand, he delighted in making numerous extracts, in true student fashion, the benefit of which he reaped in later years, for when, under other circumstances, he was forced to move from place to place and leave his beloved "bibliothèque" behind him, these volumes of extracts accompanied his wanderings and in some degree supplied its place, while their transcription had already served their purpose in storing and strengthening his memory.

He used to say himself that his brain was "a great bureau with numberless drawers, in which all sorts of information was stored up, to be drawn out at will." This was, in fact, the seedtime of his mental life, to be succeeded by a brilliant literary harvest. Theology, science, philosophy, history, politics, literature, all had their places in these "little drawers," drawn from readings in Greek, Latin, French, English, Italian, and German, all of which languages he read fluently.

Yet, like all geniuses, he was not altogether happy in his solitude. The mediocrity of his native town wearied him; its everyday gossips and narrow interests irritated the impatient young

soul whose keen glance roamed over two continents; and in a letter to his brother many years afterwards, he thus gave words to the thoughts of his youth: "Sometimes, I recall the days when, seeing myself surrounded in a narrow circle, by *small* men and *small* things, I said within myself, 'Am I condemned to live and die here, like an oyster on his rock?' And the thought made me suffer. I felt crushed by the *great weight of nothingness* round me. Yet there were compensations. I had but to go out of my room to find you, my good, true friends. Here (St. Petersburg) everything is great, but I am alone."

Though his legal studies were not the most congenial of those to which he gave himself, young Joseph was an "exemplary magistrate"; and in the discourse pronounced by him in his turn before the Savoyard Senate in 1774, "on the external characteristics of the magistrate and his means of winning public confidence," he paints his own ideal of what a magistrate should be. "If our first duty is to *be* just," he writes, "our second is to *appear* just before others; and whatever may be the inflexibility of our principles, as long as the public has the right to disbelieve in them, it has also the right to despise us." As one of his commentators observes, this profound remark of the youthful lawyer is the more striking, in that it appeals to the judgment of public opinion, which, as he feels, is to *judge the judge*, and force him to rise superior, not only to public accusation but to public suspicion. His frequent insistence on the axiom that rulers and lawgivers above all men should not be too blindly led by the spirit of the age (for) "each age manifests a special characteristic, always pushed to extremes, so that it is impossible to give oneself blindly up to the general impulsion, without showing feebleness or ignorance," forms the keynote to much of his future writings. One feels that he was, as are so many men of genius, in advance of his age, and that if Dame Nature, who, as he sometimes jestingly said, "had dropped him from her apron *by accident* in Savoy, when on her way to France," had brought him into the world some fifty years later, his reflective mind and too sensitive heart might have had freer play. Unlike his inflexible father, he was too humane for his post, and the "over-frequent procession of *penitents noirs* accompanying some malefactor to the place of execution, sometimes for such trifling offences as a theft of 300 francs, or violences committed during a fit of lunacy, roused his sorrowful indignation, "even though," as he wrote, "our magistrature, more humane than that of France, tempered justice with mercy by first strangling those who were condemned to be broken alive upon the wheel."

If, however, de Maistre's legal duties were not altogether congenial to him, he was not so absorbed in his literary studies as to

be averse to society, or to the gentle recreations of such diversions as the aristocracy of Chambéry permitted itself; of which we encounter a somewhat curious specimen, described by the young lawyer as one of the "journèes anglaises" (!) in which *le high-life* of Chambéry, as his biographer phrases it, diverted itself.

"We met at midday to separate again at four o'clock in the morning. On my honor, I don't understand it. The more we are ruined, the grander we become. Well, first there was tea, coffee, chocolate, butter, etc. Then games and concerts. At five o'clock dinner was served; sixty-five persons at the principal table and thirty more beside it; and on the table all the first chapter of Genesis. All that climbs, all that swims, all that flies, all that sings, all that bellows, all that brays, was there. To amuse you, I send you the menu. One hundred persons served on silver (even the plates), the dessert served in plated silver, as also the knives, forks, and spoons. Then came the ball, with all sorts of bonbons *à la macedoine*."

The young lawyer seems to have been popular in society, and was already appealed to as an authority on literary and artistic subjects. Only on the subject of music he failed entirely; not only was he indifferent to its strains, but it positively irritated him. "I cannot hear a piano played without feeling as if each note struck me," he declared; so one may imagine that his fair friends were not encouraged to display their accomplishments on harp or spinnet before his unappreciative ear.

It was not, it would appear, for any artistic talent or brilliant gifts of brain or hand that, for a long time silently, even as did his father before him, he had fixed his sober affections upon a certain "demoiselle à marier" who possessed "solid qualities, not devoid of charm, and virtue flourishing modestly with grace." For seven long years—no less—he admired, without expressing his preference for, a gentle, pious girl, belonging to the old Savoyard aristocracy, Françoise Marguerite de Morand by name. She was six years younger than himself, and was in every way his ideal, simple, good, devoted, practical, and favorably inclined towards her somewhat precise and sober "pretendant"; while, to crown all, she was without any pretension to being one of the "femmes savantes" who were the objects of de Maistre's special detestation. In a somewhat naïve letter, in which he announces his approaching marriage to his friend, the Marquis de Costa, he writes:

"M. de Morand has given me a great mark of esteem in never placing the least obstacle in the way of my union with his daughter. I can at last show my gratitude by working for the happiness of *mon amie*. For the rest, you will easily believe that *marriage, for the tolerably wise man, is undertaken, like one's salvation, in fear and*

trembling. Oh! what hostages one gives to fortune the day one says 'yes,' if that jade chooses to plague you. But this is not the sort of thing to think of at this moment. My plan in my new life is short and simple; it is, to profit by the advantages that fate has bestowed upon me. I am the first and only love of the woman whom I am marrying. This is a great blessing which must not be passed over. My hourly occupation will be to imagine every possible means of rendering myself agreeable and necessary to my companion, so as to have ever before my eyes a being made happy by me. If anything can resemble one's ideas of heaven, it is that."

Few young men in the present day have approached the state of matrimony with such exalted, yet practical, aspirations. His letter forms a miniature edition of the now celebrated "How to be Happy, Though Married"; and one is glad to think that as far as mutual affection went, their early period of married life was "that of two lovers." They were poor, but content; sharing the ancestral home with "M. le President Maistre," the elder, up to the time of his death, and leading that quiet, peaceable "vie de famille" which was so delighted in by the young husband that he is even reproached with being *un peu bourgeois* in his love of home.

While Joseph de Maistre and his wife were passing their tranquil, contented lives, hand in hand beside the cradles of two treasured children, Anne and Rudolph, the first echoes of revolution were sounding in France, and penetrating gradually to the surrounding countries. De Maistre followed the movement with disapproving and prophetic eye, commenting sadly upon the false steps, the contradictory measures, the feeble resistance of his own and other sovereigns. "My aversion for what is passing in France becomes horror," he writes. "I well understand how systems, fermenting in human heads, become passions. Massacres, pillage, incendiarism are nothing; a few years will cure all that. But public spirit, public opinion vitiated, in a word, France become rotten, that is the work of these men. And what is still more deplorable is that the evil is contagious, and our poor Chambéry has become tainted."

A pamphlet which appeared about this time under the title of "Le Premier cri de la Savoie vers la Liberté," attracted much attention in Chambéry. "They very quietly propose to us to consider whether of these alternatives would best suit us—to give ourselves to Switzerland, or to France, or to revolt on our own account," commented de Maistre. "Under an appearance of moderation, this little work is highly inflammatory, but the *amateurs* of Chambéry consider it quite wholesome. . . . . They are mad!" he explodes at last.

The French government, meanwhile, or rather the Republican army, resolved the question in its own way by invading and occupying Savoy in September, 1792. De Maistre's younger brothers, who were in the army, left Chambéry at once to rejoin their regiments in Piedmont; and Joseph, though in his character of civil magistrate he might have remained in his native city, preferred to follow them to Aosta with his wife and children. As they crossed, on mule-back, the Pass of the Petit St. Bernard, where nestles the humble but life-saving Hospice founded by the saintly Savoyard, Bernard de Menthon, de Maistre paused, and gave a long long look towards his native land. On one hand lay France, the land which claimed his intellectual sympathy, and to which he would fain have turned but for his horror of the revolutionary doctrines. Before him Savoy, the land of his birth, the country in which he had lived, loved, worked for forty years; and beyond it their destined goal, the half-alien seat of his king, to which his loyalty led his reluctant steps, the neighboring province of Piedmont. "My dear one," he said, turning to his wife, who shivered on the seat beside him on that bitter evening, "the step which we are taking to-day is irrevocable; it decides our fate for life."

And so it did. For the rest of his long life Joseph de Maistre was an exile, a wanderer, a cosmopolitan philosopher and courtier, if you will, but none the less a homeless Savoyard.

In the following year news came that the *emigrés* who did not return before a given date must suffer the confiscation of their property, and Madame de Maistre, in her husband's absence—it was almost her sole independent action—resolved to save at least some portion of their children's inheritance by returning to Chambéry. In a delicate state of health—she was on the verge of her third confinement—and in the depths of a severe winter, she journeyed, with her two young children, across the Great St. Bernard to Chambéry. Her husband, agonized at the discovery of her departure, followed in hot haste, fearing to find her dead or dying on the road, but found her safe in their native town. On arriving, he was immediately called upon to take an oath of allegiance to France and to pay a subscription to its army, both of which he refused, saying, indignantly, "I do not give money to kill my brothers, who serve the King of Sardinia!" A domiciliary visit from the rough, brutal soldiers of the republic so agitated Madame de Maistre that her hour of peril came on, and after a long and dangerous labor, their third child, little Constance, was born. Joseph de Maistre, as soon as his wife was out of danger, left property and country to their fate, and retired, disgusted and indignant, to Lausanne, where his wife followed him as soon as she was able to travel.

It was at Lausanne, and at this period, that his literary work began. Having been doubly charged by his king (Victor Amadeus) with the care and surveillance of his fellow-exiles, and with a mission to report on the progress of events in France, his writings soon assumed a position of political importance, and were studied and referred to by politicians of all the involved countries. He there penned his famous "Considerations sur la France," as well as many letters and minor pamphlets treating of the questions of the day, some published at the time, others not until after his death. On the proclamation of peace, he made a short sojourn in Turin, whence fresh political complications caused him to migrate to Venice with his family.

Here they remained for some time, and it appears to have been the most trying period of their lives—their Savoyard property being, as we have seen, confiscated, and the king whose fortunes they followed unable to maintain his loyal supporters.

"My father, my mother, my brother and my sister lived for four years on the small sum of 3000 francs saved out of the Jacobin confiscation," writes Constance de Maistre, in her description of that time. She herself was living with her maternal grandmother in Savoy; for having been too young to accompany her parents in their first flight to Lausanne, she remained separated from them for no less than twenty years.

"My mother cooked, my sister swept, my brother brought the daily charcoal for the fire in a little basket, and all was regulated with the strictest economy. My mother was at her last louis when my father was summoned to Sardinia."

Once more Count Joseph re-entered on political life and active work, as "Regent de la Chancellerie" in Sardinia—a post which was, in fact, that of chief magistrate of the island. Here he remained until 1802, and must have had a hard and uncongenial task in that island of lawlessness and *vendetta*, where his principal duties consisted in wresting taxes from unwilling landowners. In 1802 a decree was passed by the French republic, enjoining on all the exiled *emigrés* to return to their country within a given period, and in the meanwhile to tender the oath of allegiance to the republic before the nearest French government representative. De Maistre considered this a favorable opportunity for addressing a memorandum to the French ambassador at Naples, in which he stated: "That he was not born a Frenchman, that he never would become one, and that never having set foot in the countries conquered by France, he could not have become one . . . . and having followed the king, his master, in all his misfortunes, his intention was to die in his service; and if by this declaration he would be struck out of the list of *emigrés* as a foreigner, and obtain eventu-

ally liberty to revisit his friends and his birthplace, this favor—or, rather, this act of justice—would be precious to him."

No answer was given to this protest at the time, but some two or three years later, when de Maistre had completely forgotten the whole affair, he received, to his surprise, a ministerial dispatch from the French consul at Naples, informing him that "his name was struck out of the *liste des emigrés*, and that he was authorized to re-enter France without taking the oath, with liberty to remain in the service of the King of Sardinia."

Meanwhile, in this same year (1802), Comte de Maistre was transferred by his sovereign, the king of Piedmont, to a still more honorable post, that of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Russia, where he now took up his abode. The appointment was in some ways calculated to afford him more pain than pleasure, inasmuch as the too slender emoluments attached to the office did not allow of his bringing his wife and children to "that expensive capital," St. Petersburg. And thus the home life which he so prized was again interrupted for many years. It is partly to this very separation from wife and children that we are indebted for one of the most charming collections of private letters the world has become possessed of since those of Madame de Sevigné, which, indeed, they resemble. His letters to his two daughters, Adèle and Constance, as well as to other intimate friends, form a collection unrivalled for charm and simplicity of style and the expression of paternal, as de Sevigné's are of maternal, tenderness, and their publication, in 1851, have tended far more than any of his more ambitious writings to make his name popular. Many even of his political axioms and philosophical theses are drawn from this collection, as the now well-known chain of argument: "No Public Morality or National Character without Religion; No European Religion without Christianity; No True Christianity without Catholicism; No Catholicism without the Pope; No Pope without the Supremacy which Appertains to Him."

These letters being, as we have said, so important a portion of his writings, we may gather a few examples of the various topics on which he touches. Here is one constantly quoted in the present day:

"My pen trembles as it approaches a subject which it has not yet touched upon—the actual state of France. One should be a Jeremias, to weep and to prophecy over her. Say to M. l'Abbé Roman that nations die like individuals and that there is no proof that your own is not dead; but that if *palingenesis* is possible (as I believe and hope still), it is only by the Church. The French Revolution is Satanic; if the counter-revolution is not

divine it is null. But where are the elements of this counter-revolution?"

In another place he writes:

"If I were a Frenchman I should be tempted to enroll myself systematically under one or other of the exaggerated banners, so persuaded am I that moderate systems are a sure means of displeasing both parties. One may laugh at one's own in private, but one must have one."

Again and again he repeats:

"There is in the French Revolution a *Satanic* character which distinguishes it from everything one has hitherto seen or, perhaps, shall hereafter see."

Yet, with a clearsightedness of which we in our day, with our own added experience, can scarce realize the rarity in his, he half divined, half prophecied the "good to come out of evil."

"Remember my favorite prophecy: this immense and terrible revolution was begun, with unexampled fury, against Catholicism; the result will be *for* Catholicism."

"What we have seen is but a necessary preparation. Must not the metal be melted before the statue is moulded? Great operations are lengthy—what man can watch the development of the oak?"

"I cannot divest myself of the idea that all that we see is merely a terrible preface, and that one day we shall witness events as wondrously good as those which we behold to-day are evil."

"Madmen are required to clear out the place, and then you will see the architect arise!"

Many of his reflections take so authoritative a tone that they are commonly spoken of as "prophecies," and the prophetic utterances of de Maistre, or "Joseph de Maistre as a prophet," are terms constantly to be found in French Catholic writers of to-day; but to the modern reader the "tournure spirituelle" of some of some of his comments on the existing state of things form their chief charm, as where he writes:

"The present state of Europe inspires horror, and that of France in particular is inconceivable. . . . . The only difference which I can see between this epoch and that of Robespierre is that then heads fell, but now they are turned."

One of his most often quoted "predictions" runs as follows, and is sufficiently remarkable in the light of after events:

"The religious spirit, which is not at all extinct in France, will make an effort proportionate to the pressure put upon it, according to the nature of *all elastic fluids*. It will uplift mountains; it will work miracles. The Sovereign Pontiff and the French priesthood will embrace one another, and in that sacred embrace they will

smother the Gallican maxims. Then the French clergy will commence a new era and reconstruct France, and France will preach to Europe; and this propaganda will exceed all that has ever been seen. If Catholic emancipation is pronounced in England, which is possible, and even probable, and that the Catholic religion speaks in Europe in French and in English, remember what I tell you, there is nothing that you may not expect. If you are told that during this century Mass shall be said at St. Pierre in Geneva and at Sancta Sophia in Constantinople, you have only to say, 'Why not?'"

This was written in the year 1819. A French Catholic review, treating in its current number of de Maistre, gives some curious extracts from his correspondence relating to life and manners in Russia, which, during the prevalence of the present Russomania in this country, has doubtless special interest for its readers.

After lengthy and minute details as to the expense of living in St. Petersburg, and his own sufferings on this head—for, as we have said, he was ill-paid by his own government and unable to afford the usual luxurious accessories of an ambassador's household, or even what in that capital are the barest necessities of every gentleman's table or wardrobe, such as a fur cloak, "which," he says, "is as necessary as is a shirt with you"—he describes the then reigning czar and his attempted liberalism, the customs of the country, its intrigues, its despotism, its strange mixture of tyranny and liberty. "There is no other country where one encounters so much disparity. He who said that there was extreme servitude would be right, and he who maintains that there is excessive liberty would be right also. 'Do what seemeth good to you' is the universal law in Russia; one may even say that there is an exaggerated liberty."

This is scarcely what one expects to hear of the Russia of the last century, and in point of fact, de Maistre avows, in another place, "One makes a mistake in writing the date 1815 in this country; it should be written 1515, for we are in the sixteenth century." And the Russian people, being thus behindhand in civilization, he applies to them a maxim of his own, that "Every nation has the government which it merits." "Everything leads me to believe," he explains, "that Russia is not capable of having a government organized like our own, and that the philosophical attempts of His Imperial Majesty will result in leaving his people where he found them. . . . . There are certain nations which require to be badly governed. This seems paradoxical, but it is the exact truth."

He tells the Russians that they are humane, hospitable, intrepid; but above and beyond all, supremely inconstant. "Favor and

displeasure here are like a tertian fever; they come in fits." And then, "There is nothing virile in the Russian except the bayonet; all the rest is childish." Their respect for authority is such that "if, by chance, an Emperor of Russia took it into his head to burn St. Petersburg, no one would tell him that this operation would be undesirable—that it would produce broken windows, frighten the ladies, etc. They might kill the sovereign (which, as all the world knows, is not contrary to respect for him), but he must not be spoken to."

Another letter, in lighter vein—but perhaps equally applicable to the present day, with its craze for short cuts and royal roads to that learning which our fathers acquired so laboriously, tells his daughters that "People have tried to invent easy methods of learning, but they are only delusions. There are no easy methods of learning difficult things. The one and only method is to shut one's door, say 'Not at home,' and *work*. Ever since they began to teach us in France how to learn the dead languages, no one knows them, and it is rather amusing that those who do not know them insist on proving the erroneousness of our methods to us who do know them."

Perhaps one of the points on which Joseph de Maistre's attitude is least in accordance with modern ideas is that which touches on his strong feeling of feminine inferiority, and his younger daughter, Constance, appears to have shared our present feeling, and to have resented her illustrious father's dogmatic pronunciations on the subject, as will be seen in the following passages from his letter to her:

"Voltaire says (at least so you tell me, for it is thirty years since I read a line from him), that 'women are capable of doing all that men do.' That is simply some compliment paid to a pretty woman, or else it is one of the hundred thousand silly things that he said in his life. The truth is precisely the contrary. *Women have never done any great work of any kind.* They have neither produced an 'Iliad,' nor an 'Æneid,' nor 'Jerusalem Delivered,' nor . . . . a Venus di Medici, nor the Apollo Belvedere, etc. They have neither invented algebra, nor the telescope, nor fire-engines; . . . . but they do something greater than that; they form at their knees what is the best thing in the world—a good man or woman.

"A woman cannot be learned with impunity unless she takes more trouble to hide her knowledge than the other sex takes to exhibit it. . . . . A coquette is easier to get married than a *savante;* for to marry a savante a man must be entirely without pride, which is a very rare thing to find; while to marry a coquette, one need only be a fool, which is a very common thing."

His daughter appears to have resented his strictures on her sex, and in another letter he takes up the same strain:

"You ask me, my dear child, after having read my sermon on women's knowledge, how it comes to pass that they are all condemned to mediocrity. You ask me here the reason of a thing which does not exist and which I never said. Women are not condemned to mediocrity; they may even aspire to the sublime, but to the feminine sublime. Every being should keep its own place and not affect other perfections than those which belong to its state. I have a pet dog here called Biribi; if he wanted to be saddled and bridled and ridden out into the country like a horse, I should be as displeased with him as if your brother's English horse wanted to jump on my lap or drink my coffee! . . . . Poets, of course, may talk. . . . . If some fair lady had asked me, twenty years ago, 'Do you not think that I could be a great general, like a man?' I should certainly have answered her, 'Undoubtedly, madame, if you commanded an army, the enemy would fall at your feet, where I am at the present moment; no one would dare to fire, and you would enter the enemy's capital with drums beating and colors flying!' If she had said, 'Who prevents my being as learned in astronomy as Isaac Newton?' I should have replied, 'No one, my divine beauty! Take the telescope; the stars will be proud of the honor of being gazed at by your lovely eyes, and will hasten to reveal all their secrets to you!' That is the way one talks to women, whether in prose or in verse; but she who takes these speeches for *current money* is very stupid. . . . . The woman who wants to emulate a man is nothing but a monkey."

And he adds, somewhat suggestively, "*Adieu, petit singe!*"

On this Mdle. Constance indignantly asks her father whether he really considers women "nothing but monkeys," and he rejoins, "I merely said, and I will not unsay it, that women who ape men are only monkeys, and it is aping men to wish to be learned. I honor the young lady of whom you tell me that she has begun to write an epic poem; but Heaven preserve me from being her husband! . . . . Do you think I should have been very grateful to your mother if she had written a novel instead of giving me your brother?"

> "L'univers à perdu la sublime Emilie,
> Elle aimà les plaisirs, les arts, la veritè,
> Les dieux, en lui donnant leur âme et leur genie
> Ne s'étaient reservè que 'l'immortalitè!'"

"And what had this incomparable woman done? Simply translated Newton; whence it appears that the greatest achievement of women as regards science is to be able to understand what men have done."

Notwithstanding the above unflattering sentiments, de Maistre appears to have been at all times *grata persona* with distinguished women. The well known Princesse Galitzin, Princesse Gagani,

Comtesses Trissino, Kasournousky and d'Edling, and many others, women of letters and *femmes d'esprit*, clustered round him at St. Petersburg, and formed a little coterie full of wit and brilliancy; not forgetting the still more famous Madame Swetchine, with whom he was very intimate, and whose conversion he is sometimes said to have taken part in. We must add that she herself protested against what she called the extreme dogmatism of his nature, and declared that it had rather repelled than attracted her when on the verge of the Church.

On the whole, however, he seems to have been treated as a kind of semi-indulgent severe lay father confessor to any number of *grandes dames*, whom he counselled on all the relationships and difficulties of life; marriage, maternity, filial devotion or social duties, all found an eloquent exponent in his facile pen and tongue. He thought highly of the influence of women, too, whatever he may have said as to their intellectual capacity. "The best apostles for the reunion of the churches," he writes to a friend, "would be a dozen women of rank who desired it earnestly. No worldly affair, sacred or profane, great or small, good or bad, has ever been concluded without women."

It is somewhat curious that among the hundreds of letters, of memoirs, of personal recollections of all descriptions which we possess of the Comte de Maistre and his family, there should be hardly a mention of his brave, devoted and faithful wife. No letter to her is even quoted from the voluminous collections made by his son; only one reference to be gleaned in any of his biographies; yet her determined action in the remarkable flight of 1793, and his own description of her, show her to have been "a valiant woman" in the truest sense of the term.

"I am not surprised," he writes to a lady who had visited his wife in 1806, at Turin, "that you were able to get nothing out of *Madame Prudence* (how I laughed at that word), at Turin; there is no means, I will not say of making her speak of me, but even of making her acknowledge that she has received a letter from me. The contrast between us two is most original. I am, as you have already perceived, the *senator poco curante*, and above all, I talk out my thoughts very freely. She, on the contrary, would never venture to assert before midday that the sun has risen, for fear of compromising herself. She knows exactly what ought or ought not to be done on the 10th day of October, 1808, at ten o'clock in the morning, to avoid an inconvenience which would otherwise occur during the night of the 15th, 16th March, 1810. 'But, my dear, you pay attention to nothing; you think that no one intends any harm. As for me, I know—I have been told—I have guessed —I foresee—I warn you,' etc.! 'Now, my dear child, let me

alone! You only waste your time! I foresee that I shall never foresee, that is your affair!' "She is my supplement, and it therefore results that when I am a bachelor, as at present, I suffer horribly from having to think of every-day affairs. I would much rather chop wood! I hear with extreme pleasure her praises on all sides for the way in which she fulfils the *paternal* duties. My children ought to kiss her footsteps; for, as for me, I have no talent for education. She has one which I look upon as the eighth gift of the Holy Ghost; it is a kind of loving persecution by means of which *it is given to her* to torment her children from morning till night *to do, to abstain from, to learn*, without ceasing to be tenderly loved by them. How does she do it? I have always watched this without comprehending it."

It was during his fifteen years' residence in the Russian capital, that Joseph de Maistre penned his most famous and lasting works, and won the position which he now holds in the literary, philosophical, and religious world. Besides a long and intricate political correspondence with the French and Piedmontese Courts, which, as no copies were preserved, will probably remain forever buried among their archives, he published an "Essay on the Generating Principle of Political Constitutions"; translations from Plutarch, two volumes of philosophy in refutation of Bacon, an essay "On the Delays of Divine Justice"; another "On the Gallican Church," various pamphlets under the title of "Letters," on education in Russia, on the Spanish Inquisition, on Madame de Sevigné, "To a Protestant and a Russian Lady," etc.; then his celebrated work on the Pope, "Du Pape," which, it seems, brought him into ill odor with a certain portion of the Gallican clergy, and "even embarrassed the Pope himself," according to one of his commentators, by his energetic defense of the rights and powers of the Holy See, being, in fact, an expression of what would a few years ago have been termed the most ultramontane sentiments, a war note sounded "with no uncertain sound"; and lastly, what is regarded by many as his *chef d'œuvre*, "Les Soirées de St. Petersbourg."

The three principal works on this list, "Du Pape," "L'Eglise Gallicane," and "Les Soireés de St. Pètersbourg," however, though written in the Russian capital, were not published until after his return from exile, between 1817 and 1821; the latter of these, "Les Soirées de St. Petersbourg," being the more philosophical, as the former is the more theological in substance. "Les Soirées de St. Pètersbourg," is a series of discussions, somewhat after the Socratic method, between himself, "Le Comte," a Russian Senator, and a young French emigré, playing the part of questioner and amiable ignoramus, whom the grave graybeards

enlighten with their experience. As they float up the Neva on a delicious moonlight night, one of the exquisite "soirées" of a Russian summer, the young man, breaking in on a too oppressive silence, wonders whether, if "one of those monsters who weary the earth, born for the misfortune of society" were there at that moment, he, too, would find the night beautiful? From this text the Count enlarges on the old old questions which are ever new. Are the wicked happy? Why does evil prosper? Why does the good cause not always triumph? Or is there some divine plan, imperfectly perceived on earth, which we shall know hereafter? The dialogue (or as in this instance, trilogue), being so flexible a form for conveying ideas, it is not surprising that de Maistre's pen should have excelled itself in touching point after point in debate, somewhat after the fashion, no doubt, in which his everyday conversation and correspondence were carried on; and his companions in daily life afterwards became appreciative readers of these familiar topics, crystallized into book-form. He was considered by his admirers to have triumphantly demolished in this work the theories and systems of the two great English philosophers, Locke and Bacon; the latter of whom is described by a French writer as "the father of modern sensualism," and against whom de Maistre declares himself to have "fought in mortal combat." "Nous avons boxé comme deux *forts* de Fleet Street; et s'il m'a arraché quelques cheveux, je pense bien aussi que sa perruque n'est plus à sa place"; is "le grand Joseph's" complacent summary of his own work.

In 1805 Count de Maistre had the pleasure of seeing his son Rudolph, who joined him in St. Petersburg and entered the Russian army; Xavier de Maistre having long ago taken up his abode in the same country and identified himself the more completely with its spirit in that he had married a Russian lady, served in its army, and received a title from the czar. The de Maistre family seem to have found their Russian exile very congenial, and perhaps more appreciative of their respective merits than their own Piedmontese Court, excepting on the point of religion, where Count Joseph's sturdy Catholicity brought him at one time into ill-odor with the czar, as he was accused of helping on conversions—than which, we need not say, nothing could be more displeasing to the House of Romanoff. He found young Rudolph, though only sixteen years old, already almost a man in mind and heart, and, as he afterwards remarked to his daughter, "it was your mother who made Rudolph what he was, full of faith and honor." The father now continued the work so well begun, and his letters at this time are full of the beloved son; his dangers, his promotions, his companions, his doings; all chronicled with paternal tenderness for

the dear ones far away. One little anecdote which Count Rudolph used to relate in after years, may serve to show with what wisdom a young man's failings and difficulties were always treated. He confessed to his father one day that he had lost a considerable sum at play, and had not the means to pay it. Without a word of reproach, de Maistre went to his bureau, took out the required sum, and handed it to his son, saying, "You know that I have a sister in Savoy: you know her misfortune and her distress; I had, with great trouble and privation to myself, scraped up this money to send her. That, however, was a debt of affection; yours is a debt of honor; go and pay it."

It need hardly be added that Rudolph never gambled again.

In 1817 Count de Maistre resigned his appointment at the Russian Court owing to political intrigues into which we cannot here enter, and returned to the seat of his government, at Turin, to await another post.

Before entering on his next and last appointment, that of "Regent de la Grande Chancellerie, avec le titre de ministre d'Etat," he spent some time in the place of his birth, and joined for the last time in all the Savoyard festivities and simple family gatherings, visiting, no doubt, his married sisters, and staying with his younger brother, Nicolas, who had bought a chateau, or country house, at Bissy, near Chambéry.

Here his name occurs as one of the guests at, and "temoins," or official witnesses of, the youthful poet Lamartine's marriage, somewhere about 1820; and that somewhat imaginative writer has left us an interesting—if, as some say, not altogether reliable—account of "le grand Joseph" as he appeared to the budding poet of twenty years.

"His stature, without being great, appeared so, from the slightly exaggerated dignity of carriage with which he walked, with head thrown back, and a certain air of representation which always characterized his attitude, as if, having all his life 'represented' royalty in a court, he now continued it in family life. He was strongly built, without obesity. His feet were planted with the firmness of a bronze statue. His picturesque gestures recalled the semi-Italian who had had much intercourse with Piedmontese and Sardinians. His costume, always most correct from early morning onwards, was somewhat courtier-like—a white cravat, official dress, cross of honor on his breast, and hat always in hand; he could not have borne to be surprised in undress by the humblest peasant who might come in his wooden clogs down from the mountain to bring wood for the household.

His hair was snow-white and as fine as silk, dressed after the fashion of our forefathers; that is to say, raised off the temples,

tied and powdered, and descending in a long tail behind, which made his naturally large head look larger still. Large blue eyes, luminous, framed in dark brows, a broad nose, firm cheeks, a large mouth, made for eloquence, a self-assertive chin, and a half good-natured, half-sarcastic smile. Altogether, his appearance was that of a man thoroughly conscious of his own worth, and who, without undue pride, wishes to impress it, by his attitude, upon others. His politeness, though perfect, rather held one at a distance than drew one to him. He liked to be contemplated rather than to be approached. Dialogues did not suit him; his conversation was an inexhaustible monologue. He spoke untiringly, and liked to be attentively listened to. During the reply he would sleep a little, and then wake up—perhaps thirty times within an hour—and take up the thread of the conversation again, as if these short intervals of sleep had simply rested his eyes without overshadowing his thought."

This habit of dozing in the intervals of conversation was an old one, which had already been remarked upon in Russia, where "the company smiled with respectful sympathy at these *coups de sommeil*, as their victim called them, these passing eclipses of a great soul veiling its lamps and giving some instants of repose to his *bête*—his lower nature. Every one would smile as, coming to himself again, he would gaily excuse his momentary 'absence,' and then look about for his hat, which was inevitably *not to be found*."

Lamartine continues his description as follows: "His life was as regular as clockwork. He rose before daybreak, began, with prayers and psalms, his new day, and often went to the early Mass to which servants usually go before their master has risen; then he wrote till dinner-time. They dined at midday. After dinner, either alone or with one or other of us, he took his gold-headed cane and went for a long country walk, stopping frequently to make some remark or relate some anecdote of his life in Sardinia or Russia. He was passionately fond of poetry, and had composed much himself, which he often quoted; I remember some of it still. After these long walks he returned home, generally going into the church for a moment as he passed it, and then the conversation continued up to supper-time, as diversified as hearty and as sparkling as by day. This conversation, stimulated by his brothers and nephews, generally touched on his yet unpublished works. He consulted everybody about them, even me, youthful as I was. He would invite me to his room in the morning to read them to me, and to listen to my very crude comments on his style. He stood much in awe of Paris, 'that Athens of Europe,' which was dangerous, he said, to a Scythian like himself. 'What would

they say to that in Paris?' he would constantly reiterate, with a half-defiant, half-triumphant smile, which betrayed at once his self-confidence and his fear of ridicule."

Could de Maistre have followed his own inclination, it is very certain that this quiet, studious, retired life would have been that in which it would best have pleased him to end his days; but the sordid necessity of adding to his son's slender portion, and providing for the future of his daughters, forced him to accept the appointment which, when it came, he wrote of as follows:

"All is said: there is no more liberty or leisure for me. I belong entirely to His Excellency, Monsieur le Public. No more visits or correspondence, but, above all (aïe! aïe! aïe!), no more books or philosophical studies."

After all, this waited-for and reluctantly-accepted post did little more than enable him to die in harness. It was a troublous time, and the echoes of new revolutions filled the air. De Maistre, prophetic and far-seeing to the end, stood his ground in the ministerial council, which debated, hesitated, swayed, argued before the impending revolution, fomented, if not overtly brought about, by Charles Albert; and his last public speech, his last warning cry to his fellow-ministers, was, "Gentlemen, the earth trembles beneath your feet, and you seek to build on it!"

He did not live to witness the social earthquake which he foresaw, but "fell asleep in the Lord" on the 26th of February, 1821, eleven days only before the revolution broke out.

It would be impossible, within the limits of such a paper as the present one, to give any adequate idea of the importance of de Maistre's teaching and influence. He was, as is insisted upon by contemporary writers of our own day, the founder, with his fellow-writer and correspondent, de Bonald, of the great Catholic movement, the new Ultramontanism, of the present century.

For it was the horror of revolution, the farseeing view of its tendencies, its work, and its consequences, which caused de Maistre, who had passed through the very centre of its whirlwind, to seek an intellectual and logical refuge against its "satanic" influence. It had begun with the spirits of negation and destruction called Voltaire, Hume, Rousseau, Mill, Bentham, and their followers, with Diderot and the Encyclopædists; or, further back, with the mockeries of Erasmus; and now all thinking minds sought a counterpoise, a pillar of refuge, to which they might cling in safety when the storm was upon them. De Maistre claimed to find it in the papacy. "Ultramontanism," as Wilfrid Ward writes, "was to be the principle of order and authority and the principle of unity among Christians, as the revolution was among the representatives of democratic anarchy . . . . the Neo-

Ultramontane movement represents the growth of those special relations between the papacy and modern Europe which made Döllinger say in 1855 that its moral power was greater than it had been in the palmy days of Innocent III. or Gregory VII."

If any human writing can be said to preface, to prophecy, to prepare the ground for a divine act, so we may say that de Maistre's work, "Du Pape," was the human preface to that divine voice which found utterance in our own day in the Vatican Council, the response of the Holy Ghost to the needs of the world. And de Maistre was a layman; a layman who, as he said himself, "entered the breach" in times when priests were overworked and over-absorbed in the practical work of the Church, to "fill the empty places in the army of the Lord." His influence was widely felt in his own day, and is even more powerful in our own. Lamennais, Montalembert, Lacordaire, Veuillot drew inspiration from his writings; many of their friends were "brought up at his feet," as they phrased it themselves. (Lacordaire even wrote of one of Lamennais's works as "an exaggeration of the views of M. de Maistre.") Perrone in Italy, Donoso Cortez in Spain, Döllinger in Germany, Veuillot and the writers of the "Univers" in France, all owned the influence and developed on their several lines the initiatory thoughts expressed by de Maistre in "Du Pape." In fact, his authority was so largely quoted, even by those who least understood his spirit, that, as Frédèric Ozanam wrote of another modern school of thought, unnecessary to be more plainly referred to here, "This school of writers proposes to place at its head Count de Maistre, whose opinions it exaggerates and denaturalizes. It goes about looking for the boldest paradoxes, the most disputable propositions, provided that they irritate the modern spirit."

One of the greatest English Catholic thinkers and writers of the present day, W. G. Ward, also owed much to de Maistre, with whose writings he was familiar at Oxford, and an interesting parallel is drawn between them by the former's son and biographer, who says:

"The vision of horror which led de Maistre to look to the Roman Pontiff as the one hope for order and peace, was due to personal experience of a life lived through the terror of 1793. And perhaps nothing short of a personal experience could have given so keen an edge and marked a direction to his views. Mr. Ward had also the personal experience of confusion, of anarchy, of destruction. . . . . With Ward, as with de Maistre, what had been was but a symptom and a forewarning of what was impending. . . . . The Pope was needed by de Maistre to keep order in times of revolution or of political crises; by Ward, to keep order

in times of intellectual anarchy. 'The great thing we want,' says de Maistre, 'is for the Pope to settle things one way or another.' Mr. Ward wrote an essay called 'Are Infallible Definitions Rare?' with the object of proving them to be very frequent, and maintained that this was a matter of congratulation, as increasing the store of truth infallibly guaranteed."

De Maistre ruled "Point de Christianisme sans le Pape"; Ward believed "that a spirit of increased deference to Rome was the great need of the Church in these latter days," and his pen, like that of de Maistre, bore witness to his belief.

"To understand and appreciate Joseph de Maistre," writes Lescure, one of his biographers, "we must never forget these dates, 1794, '95, '96. We must never forget that Joseph de Maistre was a gentleman, a magistrate, a royalist, and an ardent and sincere Catholic. Without the French Revolution and without Catholicism, Joseph de Maistre, philosophically, politically, and morally, would not have existed."

His Catholicism, as we have often shown, was the mainspring of his life; so also, in a lesser degree, was his unflinching loyalty to that royal family which too often repaid him but with suspicion and ingratitude. "As long as there is a House of Savoy and it deigns to accept my services, I shall remain as I am," was his proud answer to an inquiry from one who knew how little benefit he was ever likely to reap from his steadfast loyalty.

We must not, however, suppose that de Maistre was, as his enemies called him, "the born enemy of all liberty and of modern society, the apostle of a cruel God, of an unyielding pope, of an absolute monarch, the advocate of all manner of bloody ironies, the teacher of all that can irritate or exasperate our new humanity." On the contrary, he advocated a wise liberty, an enlightened discipline, a government (monarchical, if you will, but unprivileged) founded on religion, morality, and justice. "One must unceasingly preach to the people the benefits of authority, and to kings the benefits of liberty," was his earliest axiom in politics, and what better doctrine could he inculcate? Curiously enough, de Maistre, who, during his lifetime and for some years after his death, was taken as an example of all that is most monarchical and anti-revolutionary in teaching, has lately been cited, and his writings misquoted in support of a very opposite line of argument, by those who were only too glad to shield themselves under the ægis of his great name, much to the righteous indignation of his own family.

De Maistre's latest work, which was given to the world by his son for the first time in 1859, is "Quatres Chapitres sur la Russie," the last of which contains an exhaustive study of the varieties of

Illuminism, in his day widely spread and active; some branches more or less inoffensive, others, among which are quoted the Bavarian Lodges, actively hostile to the powers civil and ecclesiastical. "I devoted a considerable length of time to studying these gentlemen (the Illuminati)," writes de Maistre to a friend. "I frequented their meetings, I went to Lyons to see them more closely, I kept up a certain amount of correspondence with some of their principal members. But I have remained in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, not, however, without having acquired a number of ideas by which I have profited." We are told that he confessed to a certain amount of sympathy for some "tendencies of Russian illuminism, above all for that which according to him should aid the propagation of Catholicism in Russia, and *the reunion of the two Churches, which was one of his dreams.* This remark comes to us with added interest at present, when the Holy Father has so lately held out a conciliatory hand to our separated brethren of the East. Apropos of this hoped-for union, de Maistre relates an appropriate anecdote in one of his letters on Russia. "Some one must yield. But who? and how? A clever Genevan lady addressed the same question to me some years since. I answered her, 'We cannot make one single step toward you, but if you will come to us, we will smooth the road at our expense.'"

An able French Review, "La Quinzaine," has lately received from one of the philosopher's grandsons, an unpublished fragment on politics from some of de Maistre's papers. Speaking of the abuses resulting from a mercenary spirit in public officers, he makes a curious comment on them, which seems worth reproducing.

"Mercenariness (venality) renders a great public service by placing young men in all kinds of posts. It is a grave error to place exclusive confidence in *old* men. The mission of old men is to hinder evil. That of the young is to do good; and this double destination requires the united action of both states of life. Give the helm to a young man, he will upset everything under the pretext of reforms. Give it to an old man, he will let everything become corrupt for fear of innovation. But as all human institutions hold within themselves the germ of decay, and one must continually repair if one would not see the building fall in ruins it follows that public affairs cannot get on without the activity of youth. Old age learns nothing, corrects nothing, establishes nothing."

The publication, so late as 1851, of his voluminous correspondence by his son, appears to have shown Count de Maistre to the world in a new and more attractive light than before. The well-known critic Sainte-Beuve thus writes of him:

"This writer had been given a reputation for the strictest *ab-*

solutism; and he has been called the executioner's panegyrist, because he maintained that societies which wished to maintain their strength could only do so by means of strong laws . . . . (but) . . . . now we learn to revere and enjoy him who has so often hitherto only provoked and angered us. This powerful exciter of political reflexions is actually going to become one of our acquaintances, and even one of our friends!"

We may mention in connection with the above critique, that de Maistre's life and works are coming more prominently before the public at the present time than ever before. Two French current Reviews—at the moment when we write these lines—contain articles on Joseph de Maistre and his works. Lecturers, in public conferences and before—such well-known institutions as the Collége de France, have recently taken him as their subject, volume after volume on his life and writings appears year by year, some quoting him as an "absolutist," others, strangely enough, striving to extract from his multifarious writings some support to their own liberal theories; and all bearing witness to the enduring importance of his teaching and influence. A not unimportant addition to these will be, when completed, the work now issuing at intervals from the pen of his co-citizen and ardent admirer, M. Descotes, of Chambéry, entitled "Joseph de Maistre avant la Revolution," two volumes only of which are at present published. For in Savoie the *man* is still remembered, while all over France the thinker, the teacher, the "prophet" is quoted and reverenced with increasing approbation.

The Chateau de Bissy, referred to above as having been bought by Colonel Nicholas de Maistre, in 1818, still remains in the possession of the family. Colonel Nicholas, the original purchaser, left it to his grandson, Rudolph's son, whose widow, an Irish lady, still resides there with her son, the present Comte de Maistre.

T. L. L. Teeling.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION IN MANITOBA.

PRIOR to the 1st July, 1867 (Dominion Day), Canada consisted of two provinces, legislatively united under one parliament. One of these, Upper Canada, was largely English and Protestant; the other, Lower Canada, was predominantly French and Catholic. Prior to this date, and as the result of a long and bitter struggle, Catholics had obtained, in complete measure, the right to separate schools in the English province—schools supported by government grant and municipal taxes in the same way as other schools. On the other hand, Protestants had, without difficulty, procured, in the French province, the establishment of Protestant schools. The year 1863 saw the close of all controversy and the acceptance of this situation by almost every one. The separate school question was answered and forever buried in Canada.

Dominion Day inaugurated a new era in Canadian history. The Confederation Act added two other provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (neither of which had a separate school system sanctioned by law); it changed the names Upper Canada and Lower Canada to Ontario and Quebec; it established a federal parliament at Ottawa and a local legislature in each province; it relegated certain subjects of jurisdiction to the parliament and assigned others to the legislatures, awarding to them also any residue; it made various provisions for the everlasting interment of certain nasty questions, involving racial and religious antipathies, which had vexed the earlier politicians; and the separate school question's obsequies were finally, and with much thankfulness, performed—"positively the last appearance."

Its troublesome ghost was laid in this fashion: The local legislatures are to have jurisdiction with reference to education, but not absolute jurisdiction. In Ontario and Quebec the Catholics and Protestants have certain rights. These shall not be infringed upon; to that extent the legislatures shall be impotent. If in these provinces, at any future time, the religious minority shall, by legislation, obtain any further rights or privileges, or if, in the other two provinces, a separate school system shall, in the future, be established; and if, in either of these cases, legislation be subsequently passed affecting any rights or privileges thus obtained, then an appeal from such legislation shall lie on the part of the minority to the federal authorities. We do not mean to say that these plain words were made use of in the laying process. On the contrary,

several years of litigation, with journeyings from inferior to superior, to supreme, and to supremest courts, have but lately unravelled the statute and resolved its twisted phraseology into something to be understood of all men. This, at last, we say, is what has been got out of it.

Three years after confederation (1870) the western prairies were added to the Dominion, and a portion of them were set off as the province of Manitoba. Prior to incorporation with Canada, the territories had been governed in some fashion by the Hudson's Bay Company, and, as a matter of law, had no system of separate schools. The position of affairs there, with reference to education, may best be described by quoting from an affidavit made by His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, used in subsequent litigation:

"These schools were denominational schools, some of them being regulated and controlled by the Roman Catholic Church, and others by various Protestant denominations. The means necessary for the support of the Roman Catholic schools were supplied, to some extent, by school fees paid by some of the parents of the children who attended the schools, and the rest was paid out of the funds of the Church, contributed by its members. During the period referred to, Roman Catholics had no interest in, or control over, the schools of the Protestant denominations, and the members of the Protestant denominations had no interest in, or control over, the schools of Roman Catholics. There were no public schools in the sense of state schools. The members of the Roman Catholic Church supported the schools of their own Church for the benefit of Roman Catholic children, and were not under obligation to and did not contribute to the support of any other schools. In the matter of education, therefore, during the period referred to, Roman Catholics were, as a matter of custom and practice, separate from the rest of the community, and their schools were all conducted according to the distinctive views and beliefs of Roman Catholics as herein set forth."

The transfer of the territories to Canada was not accomplished without friction. During the negotiation between the imperial authorities, the Hudson's Bay Company and Canada, which preceded the transfer of the territory, the Canadian Government sent in its surveyors (prematurely, therefore), who proceeded to mark off the land into sections and townships, utterly regardless of the protests of the settlers. No attempt was made to explain to the settlers the policy which the Canadian Government intended to pursue with reference to the method of government, the recognition of titles to lands, or any other subject of legislation. Not only were surveyors sent up, but a gentleman, who was not at all likely to prove acceptable to the settlers, was also accredited to the settlement, and carried with him his appointment as lieutenant-governor, to date from the day of the proclamation of the transfer. Naturally the settlers protested, and naturally many of them resisted. They formulated bills of rights; they met in convention; they determined to form a provisional government; they held their

general elections; they elected their representatives; and these representatives met in legislative assembly and made and administered laws. Canada, meanwhile, acknowledging her error, sent to them commissioners with many assurances of good will and of respect for rights, and requested that delegates might be sent to Ottawa to discuss terms of agreement.

Should negotiation fail, Canada had meditated the possibility of resort to force, and had applied for assistance to the Imperial Government. The application was answered by Earl Granville on the 5th of March, who telegraphed:

"Her Majesty's Government will give proposed military assistance, *provided reasonable terms are granted to the Red River settlers.*"

And on the 22d of March, by a dispatch from the under-secretary of the colonies, that

"Troops should not be employed in forcing the sovereignty of Canada on the population of Red River *should they refuse to admit it.*"

On the 23d of April, Earl Granville thus informed the governor-general:

"Canadian Government *to accept decision of Her Majesty's Government* on all portions of the settlers' 'bill of rights.'"

The negotiations with the delegates were carried on by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, who had been appointed by the government as a committee for that purpose. The interviews extended from the 23d of April to the end of May, conferences taking place on the 23d, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th of April and the 2d of May. On the 3d of May the governor-general was able to cable:

"Negotiations with the delegates closed satisfactorily."

To this Earl Granville replied (18th of May):

"I take this opportunity of expressing the satisfaction with which I have learned, from your telegram of the 3d inst., that the Canadian Government, and the delegates, have come to an understanding as to the terms on which the settlements on the Red River should be admitted into the union."

Some question has been raised as to whether, among the demands made by the settlers, there was included any request for separate schools. There were at least three bills of rights prepared, and the Catholics say that there was a fourth. The question is supposed to turn upon the genuineness of this fourth bill, but in the opinion of the writer the point is clear enough even if this

bill could be proved to be a forgery. In the first bill (December, 1869) is the following:

"That a portion of the public lands be appropriated to the benefit of schools, the building of bridges, roads and public buildings."

In the second bill (February, 1870) is the following:

"That while the Northwest remains a territory the sum of $25,000 a year be appropriated for schools, roads, bridges. That all the properties, rights and privileges, as hitherto enjoyed by us, be respected, and that the recognition and management of local customs, usages and privileges be under the control of the local legislature."

In the third bill (March, 1870) is the following:

"That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of this province, up to the date of our entering into the Confederation, be respected; and that the arrangement and confirmation of all customs, usages and privileges be left exclusively to the local legislature."

In the fourth bill (March, 1870), is the following:

"That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by us up to this day be respected; and that the recognition, and settlement of customs, usages and privileges be left exclusively to the decision of the local legislature.

"That the schools be separate, and that the public money for schools be distributed among the different religious denominations in proportion to their respective population according to the system of the Province of Quebec."

To any unprejudiced mind all these bills of rights imply the continuation of schools upon the denominational system. The fourth one no doubt is the only one which prescribes the particular kind of denominational system which the settlers desire ("the system of the Province of Quebec"); but the first two bills, asking that land and money be appropriated for the support of schools, clearly imply that the schools are to be denominational; for no one would have thought of demanding that if *public* schools were established they were to be sustained by public grants. Bills two and three also demand that all rights theretofore enjoyed should be respected. Any one at all familiar with the great importance attached by Canadians to their various views of educational matters, would not doubt that the rights which the settlers had enjoyed with reference to their schools were intended to be included in this demand.

It is contended, on the one hand, that the Red River delegates, who went to Ottawa to arrange terms of incorporation with Canada took with them bill No. 3, and, on the other, that they took bill No. 4. For the reason already given the solution of this question seems to be quite immaterial, but if other reasons be required they may easily be given: Whatever bill was taken it is clear that

Canada did not accede to all the terms of it. An agreement nevertheless was arrived at, and part of this agreement was (as then believed by every one) that the schools should be separate. This agreement was ratified by the Legislative Assembly sitting in the territories. The agreement, therefore, is the important matter, and not the question which of the negotiating parties suggested any particular term of it. It is quite clear, then, that the future character of the schools in Manitoba was agreed to at the time of the drafting of the Manitoba charter; and it is admitted on all hands that it was the intention of every one that Manitoba should have constitutionally no power to establish a system of which the separate schools system was not a feature.

Three years after Confederation, as I have said, Manitoba became (1870) one of the Provinces of the Dominion. In the meantime the ghost had slipped his clumsy wrappings, and in the Province of New Brunswick was at his old disrupting and envenoming work. In that province, as we have seen, there was no system of separate schools recognized by law at the time of the union. As a matter of practice, however, there were schools which, by general consent, had become Catholic in character, although retaining their public *status*. Rights, held by this tenure, having been affected by local legislature, the power of the legislature to interfere with them was challenged, was litigated, and was finally upheld. Rights based upon *practice*, and not upon statute, were evidently not rights, but permissions only. Once more the troublesome spirit disappeared. Once more the separate school question in Canada was finally disposed of.

The lesson of this New Brunswick incident came in time for the preparation of the Manitoba charter. With it before them the draughtsmen thought that they had forever saved the new province from ghostly visitation, when they inserted two little words—"or practice"—in the phraseology used in the cases of the older provinces, and made it read in this fashion:

"In and for the province the said legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege, with respect to denominational schools, which any class of persons have by law *or practice* in the province at the Union.

At this time there were within the limits assigned to Manitoba about 12,000 people, nearly equally divided, as to religion, between the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. In speculating as to the future of the prairie acquisition, Canadians had contemplated the probability of its future population being principally French and Roman Catholic. From the Province of Quebec

there had been a large annual exodus to the eastern states of the Union. If this stream could be diverted to the northwest, the expectation would almost certainly be realized. The provision just quoted, therefore, was inserted for the benefit of those who might need its protection, and not as has often been said for the benefit of Catholics alone.

At the first session of the Manitoba Legislature (1871) a school act was passed providing for a system of schools suitable to the existing circumstances. It provided for a Board of Education, and a division of it, into two sections—Catholic and Protestant. The board as a whole had certain functions, but the chief part of the work was to be transacted by the sections. The system was improved from time to time, but always (until 1890) retained its chief characteristic of Catholic and Protestant schools. The geographical distribution of the people lent itself to the easy application of this division, for the English and French (save in the urban communities) were very largely congregated in different parts of the province. For nineteen years (until 1890) this happy state of affairs continued almost without a murmur. All but the veriest few were perfectly satisfied, and congratulations were frequently heard that divines who might, and sometimes did, preach against one another in the pulpit, met, nevertheless, at the same education board, at the openings and closings of schools and colleges, and elsewhere, and applauded, in matters relating to education, the efforts made by their pulpit opponents for the instruction of the young. Almost up to the moment of the overthrow of this system did the congratulations and applause continue, and their cessation was due, not to the people of Manitoba, but to certain circumstances which shall now be related.

The nineteen years just spoken of had witnessed great changes in the province. The French exodus to the eastern states had maintained its old direction, and absolutely refused to "go west." From Ontario, however, and from Sweden, Iceland, Russia, etc., a large emigration had arrived. The Catholics found themselves reduced from 50 per cent., to not more than 15 per cent. of the population. Their political influence, however, retained some of its importance, for in the keen struggle between Liberal and Conservative their vote might frequently turn the scale. In fact it did in one very notable instance decide a most important election; which election decided the fate of an administration; turned out the Conservatives brought in the Liberals; and led directly—to the repeal of the separate school system! The Catholic vote was, in the most scandalous fashion possible, exploited and applied to the overthrow and discomfiture of those whose franchises were sought by politicians who swore themselves their friends. We hesitate to

lay bare to foreign eyes the utter meanness and degradation of some of our country's political leaders, but it is impossible to tell of the Manitoba school case and omit it.

For several years prior to the year 1888 (two years before the school act we complain of) the Conservatives had been in office. In January of that year, Mr. Burke, the member for St. François Xavier, was asked to join the administration, and his acceptance of office necessitated his re-election. The constituency was predominantly French and Catholic. Mr. Burke was of that nationality and religion, and had at the previous election been elected by acclamation. The Liberals although under suspicion of being antipathetic towards these classes determined to contest the election, and nominated a Protestant Englishman. Their success seemed hopeless, and plainly had to be attained, if at all, by convincing the electorate that the suspicions were absolutely groundless. To accomplish this the most solemn and public promises were made, and those who had been cultivating and spreading the suspicions were denounced as scandalous caluminators. Mr. Joseph Martin the strongest man in the Liberal party made two speeches in the constituency, and declared that if, when his party came into power, it in any way attacked the separate schools, or the use of the French language, *he would leave the party forever*. The President of the Liberal Association for the province was present at one of these meetings, and was appealed to to confirm Mr. Martin's assurance of the policy of the party. By these means Mr. Burke was beaten. Four days afterwards the administration resigned, and the Liberals with Mr. Greenway as Premier, and Mr. Joseph Martin as Attorney-General came into office. Two years afterwards this same Mr. Joseph Martin introduced the bill abolishing the Catholic schools!

The facts just related are not denied. They were recently proved by the declarations of the President of the Liberal Association; of the Liberal candidate at the election; of the Liberal organizer at the election; of the Conservative candidate at the election; and of six of the electors. All these testified that without such promises the Liberals would infallibly have been beaten. We say, again, these facts never have been, and are not, denied. Since that time Mr. Joseph Martin has been politically promoted, and now as representative of the city of Winnipeg in the Commons of Canada, is looked upon as one of the leaders of the Liberal party in Canada!

The Liberals had thus obtained office, but to the exercise of power two things were necessary: (1) to add strength to the administration by inducing some prominent Catholic to join it; and (2) to carry a general election, and for that purpose to secure the

Catholic vote. The St. François Xavier pledges had done much towards the removal of the Catholic dread of Liberal antipathy. Mr. Greenway saw the importance of supplanting it altogether with a feeling of trust and confidence. For this purpose, accompanied by Mr. Alloway (a prominent Protestant supporter), he called upon His Grace, the Archbishop of St. Boniface, to repeat and emphasize the former assurances. His Grace was unwell. At his request Mr. Greenway made his communication through Vicar-General Allard, and intimated that he would be glad if His Grace would name some one who would be acceptable to his people as a member of the administration. The Vicar-General listened to the assurances and request, and agreed to meet Mr. Greenway at Mr. Alloway's office the next morning at nine o'clock. The meeting took place, and the Vicar-General then informed Mr. Greenway that His Grace was extremely gratified with the protestations of good-will made by Mr. Greenway; that he believed that Mr. Prendergast enjoyed the confidence of his people; and that inasmuch as politics, apart from defence of his flock, were outside his sphere, no opposition would be made to the government so far as he was concerned. Mr. Greenway was delighted. Mr. Prendergast joined the administration. The general elections came on. The Liberals were the Catholics' best friends. The Greenway government was sustained by a sweeping majority, and nowhere was the success greater than in the Catholic constituencies, from which but one opposition member was returned.

We have now arrived at the month of July, 1888. Mr. Martin's school act is to arrive in March, 1890, but we seem to be further away from it than ever; The draughtsmen have taken care with their "or practice" to make such an act impossible; the Conservatives in Manitoba have always been friendly towards the Catholics; and now the Liberals, as to whose disposition there had been some suspicion, have declared themselves also to be their friends. The new friends too have an overwhelming majority; Mr. Prendergast is one of the administration, and there will be no elections for the next four years. What can happen?

To explain the sudden reversal in Manitoba the attention of the reader must for a few moments be directed to the Province of Quebec. We have seen that the Manitoba elections were held in the month of July, 1888, and that Liberals then were vying with Conservatives in expressions of good-will towards Catholics. In Quebec, in the same month (oddly enough) was passed a statute afterwards known as the Jesuits' Estate Act. The Jesuits had for many years preferred a claim to certain lands which had at one time belonged to their order. In settlement of this claim the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec agreed to pay to them

the sum of $400,000; but, inasmuch as the jealousy of the Protestants would thereby be certainly aroused, the legislature at the same time provided that a sum of $60,000 should be paid over to the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction, which amount (with a small increase afterwards made) was to the Jesuit grant, in the same proportion as was the Protestant to the Catholic population. This act was passed without a dissentient vote, and no Protestant member of the house ventured to attack it upon the grounds afterwards so violently put forward.

Although the Province of Quebec was satisfied with the act, a few persons in the province of Ontario formed a society which they chose to call, "The Equal Rights Association." In their constitution they declared:

"That this convention desires to record its conviction that the incorporation of the Jesuits, and the passing of the act respecting the settlement of the Jesuits' Estates, by the Legislature of the Province of Quebec; the course of the government of the Dominion in leaving these acts to their operation; and finally the rejection, by an immense majority, of the resolution moved in the House of Commons for the disallowance of the last-mentioned act, have brought forcibly home to Canadians the controlling influences which Ultramontanism has obtained amongst us, and the urgent need of organizing for the defence of our civil and religious liberties; and this meeting of delegates elected from, and representing all, parts of the Province of Ontario, with the assistance of representatives from other provinces, heartily approves of the calling of this convention for the furthering of this great end."

The Dominion Government refused to disallow the act, and forthwith, the "sleepy Protestants of Quebec" (as they were styled by an Ontario enthusiast) prepared petitions by way of appeal to the Governor-General. These were approved and fostered by the Equal Rights Association, one of its resolutions declaring that:

"This convention approves of the action of the Toronto Citizens' Committee and others, in circulating and promoting the petitions to his Excellency, the Governor-General, against the Jesuits' Estate Act, and pledges itself to promote and further, in every way, the signature and presentation of petitions against the said act."

There being some doubt as to whether the Governor-General would entertain the appeal the association issued an address in which was the following paragraph:

"The right of appeal to the Governor-General which minorities at present have must remain; nay the entire Dominion is the proper guarantee for equality of dealing on the part of the provinces with the adherents of the various churches, and nothing beyond this should be sought."

The government determined to hear the petitions, and appointed the 15th of October, 1889, for the argument. Meanwhile, however, the Quebec petitioners obtained some slight modification of

the act from the local legislature, and determined to drop further opposition. This was a great disappointment to the Ontario disturbers of the peace of another province; but the Quebec Protestants would go no further, and the agitation, and with it the association framed "for the defence of our civil and religious liberties," came to an end.

But the evil it had done was not all buried with its bones. One of its chief men, Mr. Dalton McCarthy (a lawyer of great ability, untiring energy, unconquerable courage, and narrow horizon), while the controversy was fiercely raging, happened to visit the prairie province. Manitobans had been almost silent spectators of the Jesuit Estate embroglio, but had no doubt been much interested, and to some extent stirred, by it. In January, 1888, with the help of Mr. Martin's St. Francois Xavier promises, the Liberals had attained power. In August, 1889, the same gentleman stood upon a Manitoba platform while Mr. Dalton McCarthy spoke to the following effect:

"There was something for a politician to live for; we have the power to save this country from fratricidal strife, the power to make this a British country in fact, as it is in name. In order to accomplish this, other issues must for the moment give way. We have got to bend our energies, and let it be understood in every constituency that whether a man call himself Grit or Tory, Conservative or Reformer, his record is clear, his principles are sound, and no influence at Ottawa will induce him to betray his great trust. The speaker was glad to inform the meeting that the poor sleepy Protestant minority of Quebec were at last awake. He trusted before many weeks to address a meeting in Montreal, and to realize that that minority is sound to the core on this question. *There is the separate school question here*, and in the Northwest, and there is the French school question in Ontario; *we have all the work to do in our various localities; let us do that first* before we seek to traverse fields, before more difficulty is to become encountered because vested rights have become solidified."

Thus was the fire kindled which, within eight months, was to sweep over the province of Manitoba, was to result in the School Act of March, 1890, and was to terminate the friendly relations which had obtained there for so many years between Catholics and Protestants.

Mr. Martin's School Act was passed in 1890. It established what are called (for the sake of concealing their character) public and non-sectarian schools. All Catholic school property was turned over to trustees, to be elected under the new act; and it was provided that no school which did not comply with the requirements of the statute, that is, that did not cease to be Catholic, was to be deemed to be a public school, or be entitled to any public support. Even the Catholic organization was ended, and they were not to be allowed so much as to tax themselves for the support of their own schools. A large sum of money on hand at the time went along with their property. The provisions as to religion were as follows:

"Religious exercises in the public schools shall be conducted according to the regulations of the advisory board. The time for such religious exercises shall be just before the closing hour in the afternoon. In case the parent or guardian of any pupil notifies the teacher that he does not wish such pupil to attend such religious exercises, then such pupil shall be dismissed before such religious exercises take place. Religious exercises shall be held in a public school entirely at the option of the school trustees for the district; and upon receiving written authority from the trustees, it shall be the duty of the teachers to hold such religious exercises. The public schools shall be entirely non-sectarian, and no religious exercises shall be allowed therein except as above provided."

These clauses are due entirely to the power and influence of the Protestant clergy. Mr. Martin's avowed intention had been to make the schools entirely secular. When this was announced the Protestant sects preached, protested, resolved, declaimed and threatened so vigorously, voluminously and vengefully, that the government had to draw back, and was compelled to make the schools to suit the Protestants. The Catholics were numerically too weak to affect the government's course, so the Protestants had their way.

Protestant influence went further, and in the very teeth of the act, which provided that "The public schools shall be entirely unsectarian," succeeded in having inserted among the regulations the following provision:

"To establish the habit of right doing, instruction in moral principles must be accompanied by training in moral practices. The teacher's influence and example, current incidents, stories, memory gems, sentiments in the school lessons, examination of motives that prompt to action, didactic talks, teaching the Ten Commandments, etc., are means to be employed."

If the teachers were all to be Catholic, this regulation would, of course, be, from our standpoint, unobjectionable. Protestants, however, in that case would, if the provision was acted upon, take to the bayonet. As the teachers in the vast majority of cases are Protestant, it ought not to be (but is) wondered at that Catholics decline to send their children to what would be, in respect to the teaching of religion and morality, mere Protestant Sunday-schools. Among the subjects for study, too, is "History—(a) English—Religious Movements—(Henry VIII. and Mary)"—a subject which, in the hands of Protestant teachers, would inevitably be the basis of some very pretty instruction for Catholic children.

Of the practical working of the act, one wants no stronger or other testimony than that of its author, Mr. Joseph Martin, who, in a letter to the *Press* (26th of June, 1895), said as follows:

"When I introduced the school bill of 1890, I pointed out that, in so far as it provided for religious exercises in the schools, it was in my opinion defective. I am one of those who deny the right of the state to interfere in any respect in matters of religion. I said then, and I still think, that the clause of the 1890 Act, which provides

for certain religious exercises, is *most unjust to the Roman Catholics*. If the state is to recognize religion in its school legislation, such a recognition as is acceptable to Protestants only, and in fact only to a majority of Protestants, *is to my mind rank tyranny*."

Such as it is, however, "rank tyranny" and all, the act has been passed, the wrappings are evidently slipping, and the strength of those little words "or practice" must be brought to the test. Lawyers are employed and are told that there can be no doubt what was meant by the provincial charter; that those who negotiated its terms are still living and will testify; that if the language be dubious, a reference to the Hansard debates, and the votes and proceedings, will show what was intended by every one. Lawyers answer that no inquiry into such matters can be permitted; that such matters might be useful to laymen; that lawyers, by their rules, are prohibited from looking anywhere but at the statute itself; that the rules must be maintained; and that that which is plain and well known to everybody else must remain obscure and unknown to them. Justice, thus well-blinded, proceeds to make her award. Inferior Court says that the act is good, and within the competence of the legislature. Superior Court says the same, one-third of it (taking possibly a surreptitious look) dissenting. Supreme Court says unanimously that the act is bad and *ultra vires*, rights and privileges enjoyed by *practice* at the time of the union having been prejudicially affected. Supremest Court (the British Privy Council) says that they have not been affected, and that the act is perfectly competent—three rounds out of four, and the victory to the St. Francois Xavier statute.

The wrappings are off, then, and the ghost again at large. As for the new device, "or practice," it has proved to be completely useless. Supremest Court says as follows:

"Now, if the state of things which the Archbishop described as existing before the union, had been a system established by law, what would have been the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholics with respect to denominational schools? They would have had by law the right to establish schools at their own expense, to maintain their schools by school-fees or voluntary contributions, and to conduct them in accordance with their own religious tenets. Every other religious body which was engaged in a similar work at the time of the union would have had precisely the same right with respect to their denominational schools. Possibly, this right, if it had been defined, or recognized by positive enactment, might have had attached to it as a necessary or appropriate incident, the right of exemption from any contribution, under any circumstances, to schools of a different denomination. But, in their Lordships' opinion, it would be going much too far to hold that the establishment of a national system of education, upon an unsectarian basis, is inconsistent with the right to set up and maintain denominational schools, that the two things cannot exist together, or, that the existence of one necessarily implies, or involves, immunity from taxation for the purposes of the other.

"Such being the main provisions of the Public School Act of 1890, their Lordships have to determine whether that Act prejudicially affects any right or privilege

with respect to denominational schools, which any class of persons had by law or practice in the province at the union. Notwithstanding the Public School Act of 1890, Roman Catholics, and members of every other religious body in Manitoba, are free to establish schools throughout the province; they are free to maintain their schools by school-fees or voluntary subscriptions; they are free to conduct their schools according to their own religious tenets, without molestation or interference. No child is compelled to attend a public school. No special advantage, other than the advantage of a free education in schools conducted under public management, is held out to those who do attend. But then, it is said, that it is impossible for Roman Catholics, or for members of the Church of England (if their views are correctly represented by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, who has given evidence in Logan's case) to send their children to public schools where the education is not superintended and directed by the authorities of their church; and that, therefore, Roman Catholics and members of the Church of England who are taxed for public schools, and at the same time feel themselves compelled to support their own schools, are in a less favorable position than those who can take advantage of the free education provided by the Act of 1890. That may be so. But what right or privilege is violated or prejudicially affected by the law? It is not the law that is in fault; it is owing to religious convictions, which everybody must respect, and to the teaching of their Church, that Roman Catholics and the members of the Church of England find themselves unable to partake of advantages which the law offers to all alike."

And when it is said that such an interpretation of the Act leaves it a nullity, and without possibility of application to anything, Supremest Court says that that cannot be helped:

"It has been objected, that if the rights of Roman Catholics, and of other religious bodies, in respect of their denominational schools, are to be so strictly measured and limited by the practice which actually prevailed at the time of the union, they will be reduced to a condition of a 'natural right,' which does not want any legislation to protect it. Such a right, it was said, cannot be called a privilege, in the proper sense of the word. If that be so, the only result is, that the protection which the Act purports to extend to rights and privileges, existing 'by practice,' has no more operation than the protection which it purports to afford to rights and privileges existing by law. It can hardly be contended that, in order to give a substantial operation and effect to a saving clause, expressed in general terms, it is incumbent upon the court to discover privileges which are not apparent of themselves, or to describe distinctive and peculiar features to rights which seem to be of such a common type as not to deserve special notice or require special protection."

The Act, then, is valid and constitutional. But the Catholics have another shot in the locker. The charter of Manitoba has these clauses, also:

"An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of the legislature of the Province, or of any provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

"In case any such provincial law, as, from time to time, seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council, on any appeal under this section, is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case may require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execu-

tion of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section."

A petition to the Governor-General in Council[1] is prepared, signed by 4267 Catholics, and forwarded to Ottawa, praying for the restoration of their rights, and the modification of the statute. The government, however, doubts its jurisdiction. Supremest court has held that no rights and privileges, enjoyed by the Catholics at the union, have been prejudicially affected; and if so, what power has the government? Catholics suggest that if they can no longer urge their ante-union rights acquired by practice, they can at least found their claim to relief upon their post-union rights, acquired by the statutes of the province itself. Government does not know, and refers the question to supreme court for advice. Supreme court (three out of five) advise that the government has no jurisdiction at all; and can, in no way, interfere. Supremest court advises that the government has ample jurisdiction, and makes sundry directions as to what ought to be done. Here are some extracts from the judgment:

"The terms upon which Manitoba was to become a province of the Dominion were matter of negotiation between representatives of the Province of Manitoba and of the Dominion Government."

"Those who were stipulating for the provisions of Section 22 as a condition of union, and those who gave their legislative assent to the Act by which it was brought about, had in view the perils then apprehended."

"It was not doubted that the object of the first sub-section of Section 22 was to afford protection to denominational schools."

"There is no doubt either what the points of difference were, and it is in the light of these that the 22d section of the Manitoba Act of 1870, which was in truth a parliamentary compact, must be read."

"The sole question to be determined is whether a right or privilege which the Roman Catholic minority previously enjoyed has been affected by the legislation of 1890. Their Lordships are unable to see how this question can receive any but an affirmative answer."

"Bearing in mind the circumstances which existed in 1870, it does not appear to their Lordships an extravagant notion that in creating a legislature for the province with limited powers, it should have been thought expedient in case either Catholics or Protestants became preponderant, and rights which had come into existence under different circumstances were interfered with, to give the Dominion Parliament power to legislate upon matters of education, so far as was necessary to protect the Protestant or Catholic minority as the case might be."

"Their Lordships have decided that the Governor-General has jurisdiction, and that the appeal is well founded, but the particular course to be pursued must be determined by the authorities to whom it has been committed by statute. It is not for this tribunal to intimate the precise steps to be taken. Their general character is sufficiently defined by the third sub section of Section 22 of the Manitoba Act."

"All legitimate ground of complaint would be removed if that system (the system of 1890), were supplemented by provisions which would remove the grievance upon

[1] In Canada the phrase Governor-General in Council really means the government of the day.

which the appeal is founded, and were modified so far as might be necessary to give effect to these provisions."

Four and a half years of litigation and at last we know the meaning of a few English sentences in the Manitoba charter. We know that the matter has become one of politics, and that as it involves the separate school question, the times for politicians have grown stormy and dark—tempests from every quarter, and lee shores on every side; Catholics in this constituency, Orangemen in that, and medleys everywhere else in all proportions; resolutions, petitions, pamphlets and sermons; political barometers and Christianity going down; political umbrellas and all uncharitableness going up; what is government to do?

Fully to appreciate the government's difficulty a few words must be devoted to a peculiar feature of the Canadian constitution —the power of disallowance. In the United States the Federal authorities have nothing more to do with State legislation than with the municipal affairs of the villages. If State legislation be *ultra vires* the law courts will so hold; but if it be *intra vires* "it goes." It is different in Canada. There every act of a local legislature may within one year, be disallowed by the Governor-General in Council—that is, by the Federal Government of the day. In the earlier days of confederation this power of disallowance was exercised somewhat freely, and consequently became obnoxious to each province in turn, as its legislation fell to be disallowed. For several years the railway legislation of Manitoba had been rigorously overruled, in the interest of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and plainly to the financial detriment of the province. This mistaken use of the disallowance power had the natural effect of arousing popular objection to the power itself, and to array the general mind upon the side of "Provincial Rights." Dominion governments had therefore grown chary of exercising a power so unpopular, and latterly it had fallen into complete disfavor, and almost complete disuse in cases in which popular sympathy would be aroused. The Dominion government had been asked to disallow the very School Act which we are discussing, but had refused to do so, although it was plainly a breach of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the constitution. The cry of "Provincial Rights," to the undiscriminating mind, seemed to apply as well to a case of disallowance of provincial legislation by the Dominion Government, as to a case in which an appeal lay through the initiative of the Dominion Government, to the Dominion Parliament. The difference is, of course, very great. In the one case the executive at Ottawa sits in judgment, without benefit of debate, upon provincial legislation. In the other, it is the representatives of the people of the whole Dominion, that sit to discuss and determine

an appeal from the representatives of the people of a single province. The provision seems to have much to recommend it, if it be, as it is, confined to cases in which racial or religious questions may arise. At all events it was, as we have seen, much thought of and appealed to by Protestants, when the Catholic Province of Quebec passed the Jesuits' Estate Act. It became in their eyes an odious instrument of oppression only when applied to the relief of the Protestants in Manitoba.

The Dominion Government then had to face the facts (1) that Manitoba in passing the School Act has acted within her jurisdiction; (2) that the Catholics are in the Dominion but a minority; (3) that interference with "provincial rights" is unpopular, and especially so in Manitoba; and (4) that many of the government's own supporters will undoubtedly refuse to follow it in any attempt to interfere. Upon the other hand, the government sees that, although the Catholics are in the minority, they are more compact than is the majority; that the Catholics in defence of their religion will in large numbers forsake, for the time, their political allegiance and vote as the occasion may require. But above and beyond that, as we shall trust, it sees that Canada's hope for the future lies not in discord and disorder but in that unity which can only be maintained, in mixed populations, by a large-minded spirit of fair play, mutual concession and a generous respect for the opinions and sentiments of their fellow-countrymen.

The government, meanwhile, has been prevoyant and forehanded. It has endeavored to disarm attack by an exhibition of respect and tenderness for provincial feeling. On the 26th of July, 1894, it passed an order-in-council which, after reciting the petition of the Catholics, declared as follows:

"The committee beg to observe to your excellency that the statements which are contained in this memorial are matter of deep concern and solicitude in the interests of the Dominion at large, and that it is a matter of the utmost importance to the people of Canada that the laws which prevail in any portion of the Dominion should not be such as to occasion complaint of oppression or injustice to any class or portion of the people, but should be recognized as establishing perfect freedom and equality, especially in all matters relating to religion and religious belief and practice; and the committee, therefore, humbly advise that your excellency may join with them in expressing the most earnest hope that the Legislature of Manitoba, and of the northwest territories respectfully may take into consideration, at the earliest possible moment, the complaints which are set forth in this petition, and which are said to create dissatisfaction among Roman Catholics, not only in Manitoba and the northwest territories, but likewise throughout Canada, and may take speedy measures to give redress in all the matters in relation to which any well founded complaint or grievance be ascertained to exist."

To this order-in-council the Manitoba Government made reply (20th October, 1894), among other things declaring:

"The questions which are raised by the report under consideration have been the subject of most voluminous discussion in the Legislature of Manitoba during the past four years. All of the statements made in the memorial addressed to his excellency the Governor-General and many others have been repeatedly made to and considered by the legislature. That body has advisedly enacted educational legislation which gives to every citizen equal rights and equal privileges and makes no distinction respecting nationality and religion. After a harassing legal contest the highest court in the British dominion has decided that the legislature in enacting the law of 1890 was within its constitutional powers and that the subject of education is one committed to the charge of the provincial legislature. Under these circumstances the executive of the province sees no reason for recommending the legislature to alter the principles of the legislation complained of. It has been made clear that there is no grievance, except it be a grievance that the legislature refuses to subsidize particular creeds out of the public funds, and the legislature can hardly be held to be responsible for the fact that their refusal to violate what seems to be a sound and just principle of government creates in the words of the report dissatisfaction amongst Roman Catholics, not only in Manitoba and the northwest territories but likewise throughout Canada. . . . . The government and legislative assembly would unitedly resist by every constitutional means any such attempt to interfere with their provincial autonomy."

The legislative Assembly at its next meeting approved of the following clause in the "Speech from the Throne" (somewhat equivalent to the Governor's message):

"By the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, recently pronounced on an appeal from the Supreme Court of Canada, it has been held that an appeal lies to the Governor-General in Council, on behalf of the minority of this province, inasmuch as certain rights or privileges given by prior provincial legislation to the minority in educational matters had been affected by the Public School Act of 1890; and that therefore the Governor-General in Council has power to make remedial orders in respect thereto. Whether or not a demand will be made by the Federal Government that the act shall be modified is not yet known to my government. But it is not the intention of my government in any way to recede from its determination to uphold the present public school system, which if left to its own operation would, in all probability, soon become universal throughout the province."

Later in the session it adopted the following resolution:

"While this House loyally submits itself to the provisions of the constitution as interpreted by the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Council, it is hereby resolved that the exercise of appellate jurisdiction by the Governor-General in Council, in such way as to lead thereafter to the alteration of the principles upon which the public school system of Manitoba is founded, will be viewed with great apprehension; that interference by the Federal authority with the educational policy of the province is contrary to the recognized principles of provincial economy; that this House will, by all constitutional means, and to the utmost extent of its power, resist any steps which may be taken to attack the school system established by the Public School Act of 1890 which is believed to be conceived and administered in the highest and best interest of the whole population of the province of Manitoba."

Notwithstanding this defiant attitude, the Dominion Government (its jurisdiction having now been well established), appointed a day for the hearing of counsel for the Catholic minority, in support of their petition of appeal, and of counsel for the Manitoba Govern-

ment. The argument lasted four days, and on the 19th March the Dominion Government gave its judgment by passing an order-in-council, the pith of which is to be found in the following sentences:

"The committee, therefore, recommend that the said appeal be allowed, and that Your Excellency in Council do adjudge and decide that by the two acts passed by the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba on the 1st day May, 1890, entitled respectively 'An Act respecting the Department of Education,' and 'An Act respecting the Public Schools,' the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholic minority of the said province, in relation to education, prior to the 1st day of May, 1890, have been affected by depriving the Roman Catholic minority of the following rights and privileges which, previous to and until the 1st day of May, 1890, such minority had, viz.:

(*a*) "The right to build, maintain, equip, manage, conduct and support Roman Catholic schools, in the manner provided for by the said statutes, which were repealed by the two Acts of 1890 aforesaid.

(*b*) "The right to share proportionately in any grant made out of the public fund for the purposes of education.

(*c*) "The right of exemption, of such Roman Catholics as contribute to Roman Catholic schools, from all payment or contribution to the support of any other school.

"And the committee also recommend that Your Excellency in Council do further declare and decide that, for the due execution of the provisions of Section 22 of 'The Manitoba Act,' it seems requisite that the system of education embodied in the two Acts of 1890 aforesaid, should be supplemented by a Provincial Act or Acts, which would restore to the Roman Catholic minority tbe said rights and privileges, of which such minority has been so deprived as aforesaid, and which would modify the said Acts of 1890, so far and so far only, as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions restoring the rights and privileges in paragraphs (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) hereinbefore mentioned.

"The committee further and for the reasons hereinbefore stated recommend that if Your Excellency in Council should be pleased to approve of this report, Your Excellency in Council do make an order in the premises in the form and to the effect as set forth hereunto submitted."

The order referred to in the last sentence was passed (21st March). It is generally known as the "Remedial Order." It recites the order-in-council just quoted; makes the declaration contained in it; and requires "all persons whom it may concern to take notice and govern themselves accordingly."

The local Legislature replied with a resolution (June), in which it is said:

"We are therefore compelled to respectfully state to Your Excellency in Council that we cannot accept the responsibility of carrying into effect the terms of the Remedial Order."

Much objection was made to the Remedial Order. Not merely was the whole proceeding obnoxious to very many; but to the scope of the remedy suggested, and to the phraseology of the document was violent opposition offered; and it was, and has been, absolutely impossible to remove the misapprehension upon which almost all such opposition is based. For the chief misconception,

the Manitoba charter is itself largely to blame. It says that, "An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council." The appeal is in reality not to the Governor-General, but to the Parliament of Canada. The only function performed by the Governor-General is the preliminary one of deciding whether or not, in any particular case, a religious minority is to be permitted to appeal to Parliament. If this be true it would be altogether improper for the Governor-General, in granting leave to appeal, to limit the petitioners as to the extent of the relief that they were to ask, and in consequence to limit the jurisdiction of Parliament when dealing with the subject. The Governor-General then was right in permitting the petitioners to carry to Parliament their whole claim. To the objection that the phraseology was unnecessarily harsh and overbearing, it is sufficient to say that it follows the language of the statutes, and that if it had not done so it would not have been effectual for the purpose intended. In order that the Federal Parliament may acquire jurisdiction there must have been a formal and precise declaration of the Governor-General and a refusal by the Local Legislature to comply.

The Dominion Parliament was in session when the resolution containing the refusal of the Legislature reached Ottawa. The steps necessary to give to Parliament jurisdiction to restore to the Manitoba Catholics the rights and privileges taken away from them had now been completed, and it remained merely to introduce the bill and, if possible, to pass it. At this point the government hesitated. It was found impossible to remove the prejudice aroused by the form and phraseology of the Remedial Order. Many who either knew, or should have known better, declared that it was tyrannous, and should be superseded by something more conciliatory. Even many of the friends of the Catholics were misled in this way. The session, too, was far advanced, and the preparation and passage of a lengthy school act would necessitate a tedious prolongation of work to men already exhausted by the labors and heat of the summer. Among the members of the government, also, there was much difference of opinion. Some of the Catholic members insisted upon the immediate introduction of legislation. Some of the Protestant members were rigidly opposed to hasty action. Three Catholic ministers resigned in consequence of the disagreement, but two of them afterwards returned, and the government policy was announced as follows:

"Though there may be differences of opinion as to the exact meaning of the reply in question, the government believes that it may be interpreted as holding out some hope of an amicable settlement of the Manitoba school question on the basis of possible action by the Manitoba Government and legislature; and the Dominion Government is unwilling to take any action which can be interpreted as forestalling or pre-

cluding such a desirable consummation. The government has also considered the difficulties to be met with in preparing and perfecting legislation on so important and intricate a question during the last hours of the session. The government has, therefore, decided not to ask Parliament to deal with remedial legislation during the present session. A communication will be sent immediately to the Manitoba Government on the subject, with a view to ascertaining whether that government is disposed to make a settlement of the question which will be reasonably satisfactory to the minority of that province, without making it necessary to call into requisition the powers of the Dominion Parliament. A session of the present Parliament will be called together to meet not later than the 1st Thursday of January next. If by that time the Manitoba Government fails to make a satisfactory arrangement to remedy the grievance of the minority, the Dominion Government will be prepared at the next session of Parliament to be called, as above stated, to introduce and press to a conclusion such legislation as will afford an adequate measure of relief to the said minority, based upon the lines of the judgment of the Privy Council and the remedial order of the 21st of March, 1895."

A few days after this announcement, Mr. Dalton McCarthy moved: "That all the words after 'That' be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof:

"This House has heard with regret the statements recently made defining the policy of the government respecting the Manitoba school question, and is unwilling by silence to allow it to be assumed that, at the session to be held in January next, any more than at the present session, it is prepared to pass a law to restore the system of separate schools in Manitoba on the lines of the remedial order of the 21st of March, 1895."

The debate which ensued was confined almost exclusively to the members upon the government side of the House, and the difficulties to be encountered became manifest as some of the best men in that party announced that they would be unable to support the government's proposition if made at the ensuing session. Almost everybody, however, was agreed that, as one member put it, "It is time enough to say good morning to His Majesty when you meet him," and that the troublesome question should be postponed until January. Mr. McCarthy was unable to get sufficient support to call for a division.

This brings the history of the Manitoba school case down to the present time. It is to be hoped that the Provincial Government will, during the interval, agree to remedy the grievances. If it do not, there can be little doubt that remedial legislation will be passed at the next session of the Federal Parliament. This may, and no doubt will, lead to further litigation, but the stronger hand of the Dominion must prevail, and justice and right, so long delayed, be awarded to the Roman Catholic minority in the province of Manitoba. The ghost must down again.

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THE OUTLOOK FOR IRELAND.

THE British midsummer elections have again placed the control of the empire in the hands of the opponents of home rule for Ireland. After two years' tenure of office, the Liberal Party which had come into power on the policy of granting self-government to the Irish people, and had passed a complete bill for that end, through the House of Commons, has been completely defeated at the polls. The Tory Marquis of Salisbury returns to power with a larger majority of followers than he had before Mr. Gladstone's last victory, and for the time the home rule question is supposed to be banished to the list of political impossibilities. That it can be really removed from existence even by a parliamentary majority of a hundred and fifty is however, beyond the hopes of its most determined opponents. The Irish home rule representatives have returned to Parliament after the political cyclone in Great Britain, with undiminished numbers. They have even gained a couple of seats in Ulster, giving them a majority in the representation of that province as well as of every other in Ireland. Whether Tory or Liberal holds office in Westminster, the Irish question will continue to block the way of British legislation until the legitimate demands of the Irish people are satisfied. The Conservatives as a party may care less for activity in legislation than the liberals, but they must move or be crushed by the popular feeling of England. The fate of Irish home rule is then not to be settled by any changing majority in the Imperial Parliament.

Indeed, for the Irish people to give up the struggle for self-government would mean to resign themselves to extinction. The system of government now existing in Ireland has resulted in reducing both the population and the wealth of the country in a degree unknown in any other country of the civilized world. When the union was made at the close of the last century the wealth of Ireland was estimated at two-nineteenths of that of the three countries. To-day the best authorities put it at less than one-twentieth. The population was over a third of the whole and now it is barely one-eighth. During the last fifty years, while every other country in Europe has increased, Ireland has steadily declined. The population of England has grown from fifteen to thirty millions. Ireland under the same ruler, has sunk in that time from eight and a half millions to four millions six hundred thousand. The returns of five successive censuses tell the same tale of depopulation. At times it is more rapid but at no time does it cease. During

the last two years, the administration of the government of Ireland has been in the hands of an English party as favorable to its welfare as ever could be expected to hold office, yet under Mr. Morley's *régime* the population has gone on decreasing, and no sign of any genuine material prosperity has appeared. Such a result, it is plain, is beyond the power of any administration under the present system, however well disposed its administrators may be personally.

The reasons for the admitted failure of the Union system of government to make the Irish people prosper, are too many to be reached by any legislative enactments of the British Parliament. The antagonism between the owners and the cultivators of the soil is not of a socialistic character in Ireland as it is in some other countries. It comes down from centuries of war and confiscation, in which the bulk of the Celtic population was reduced to a condition of virtual slavery in its own land and which have left their spirit still at work in the social life of the Irish people. Sympathy with English Government in Ireland means hostility to the nationality of the Irish people. The administrators of the government under the present *régime* as well as the majority of the owners of the land, and even, what would be styled in France the members of "la haute finance,"—the commercial aristocracy, all share the feeling of dislike for everything distinctively Irish. Legal reforms, educational measures and commercial enterprise alike have to contend with the dead weight of this hostility on the part of the most powerful section of the community in point of wealth and social position. English law is powerless to remove this feeling unless by giving place to Irish law for Ireland and so the home rule struggle must continue as long as the present Irish people exist.

The late change in the British Ministry is then an incident in a contest which can only end with the extinction of the Irish people in Ireland or the recognition of their right to rule themselves. That the latter will be the solution there is little room to doubt. The very conditions entailed by the present Union make any migration of people of other races into Ireland impossible. Even in this age of changes of population there is no current towards the shores of unprosperous lands. Elizabeth or James I. might think seriously that they could replace the Irish Celts by English or Scotch settlers, but Lord Salisbury can harbor no such dream. If the Union makes Ireland incapable of keeping its own natives it still more surely keeps away all others from settling in their land. Foreign rule may keep Ireland wretched but it is powerless to anglicize its people. Cromwell's attempt to transplant the Irish race beyond the Shannon, left Ireland as she is to-day, and what Crom-

well could not do will not be done by the modern Tory rulers of England.

That the Irish question must continue to hamper the British Government is then certain. It is morally certain that it can be removed by the concession of self-government to Ireland. Those two facts are patent to both the friends and the foes of Irish nationality. The question naturally suggests itself, how long the advent of the Unionist ministry is likely to postpone home rule? Its answer depends on the dispositions of the English and the Irish people. The first have the power to grant it at any moment if convinced that such is their real interest. The Irish people, like any other body of men, may imperil a just cause by mistakes or lack of judgment. The political leaders of both nations are in the same category as the two peoples. The fate of the nation for the time being rests in their hands. We shall briefly review the dispositions of each as indicated by the late elections.

The change in temper of the people of Great Britain towards the national aspirations of Ireland has been remarkable during the past twenty years. When Mr. Butt first brought forward Ireland's claim for home rule both English parties and all shades of English politicians united in declaring them impossible of concession. Down to 1883 no English statesman would even give them serious attention, and Conservatives and Liberals, however hostile on other points, united in voting down every proposal for letting Ireland rule herself.

Sir William Harcourt in one session since that date voted over two hundred times adversely to Irish proposals of all kinds. Mr. Gladstone's conversion to the Irish side in 1885 came like a thunderclap on the majority of Englishmen. In spite of his wonderful popularity, he was driven from office on that question, and the powerful party which he led was divided into two factions on the Irish question. The curious spectacle of a union between the ultra-radical ex-mayor of Birmingham and the ultra-aristocratic Marquis of Salisbury was a sign of the strength of anti-Irish prejudice among the English population ten years ago. Since that time the tendency of public opinion has grown steadily for justice to Ireland.

Two years ago Mr. Gladstone was restored to power as the champion of home rule, and his bill passed successfully the House of Commons by a fair, if not very large, majority. The House of Lords for the last two years has been the only legal obstacle to the establishment of Irish home rule. During the present century the House of Lords has never ventured to array itself permanently against the popular branch of the legislature, though it might at times delay for some time popular legislation. If the

English people should continue to demand home rule for Ireland, it certainly will not be prevented by the Lords.

That a home rule bill has actually passed the House of Commons is evidence that the English people is favorably disposed towards it, though it may delay, according to its wont, in getting its will into law.

It does not appear that the late Tory triumph indicates any real revulsion of English sentiment against home rule. Lord Roseberry's government fell from other causes. In the first place, Gladstone's retirement deprived the Liberals of by far the most popular leader in the country and lessened correspondingly the prestige of the party with the English voters. Lord Roseberry, though personally popular and clever, was everywhere felt to be a very inferior successor to the veteran statesman who had passed the home rule bill through Parliament in spite of his eighty-three years. The clever young peer, whose horse had won the Derby, and who had obtained a share in the wealth of the Rothschilds by marriage, was far below the standard of Mr. Gladstone. His position as a peer was objectionable to many of the more radical Liberals, including Labouchere. They regarded it as unlikely that he would carry on with vigor the attack on the privileges of the House of Lords, which was required for the ultimate passage of the home rule bill, and which besides was their own special object. The advent of a new and comparatively inexperienced head to the government lessened considerably the bonds of party discipline, and the illness which attacked him a few months later much aggravated the evil. As a consequence the Liberals, though in power, allowed themselves to become inactive in legislation. Several political mistakes were also committed, the most damaging being the antagonizing the liquor interest, a most formidable one, be it remembered, in English politics. The great brewers are a power in England. Their sympathies are generally Conservative, and the vacillating conduct of the Liberal ministry encouraged them to put forward boldly all their influence against it at the polls. Lord Roseberry's ministry fell, not because it was friendly to home rule, but because it showed itself incapable of any energetic Parliamentary action. We have seen similar political changes in this country which cannot be referred to any definite cause but general annoyance at the conduct of the party in power. Mr. Cleveland's majority of 1884 was completely reversed in 1888, and the verdict of 1888 was still more completely upset at Mr. Cleveland's second election. English voters are as liable as Americans to change their representatives from simple desire of change, and something of the kind has lately occurred.

It is worth note that, though the present Unionist majority in

Parliament reaches a hundred and fifty, or nearly a fourth of the whole body, the majority in the voting population is only a hundred and fifty thousand, or about one in forty. At the last election Gladstone's policy had a majority of two hundred thousand in round numbers of the electorate, though his majority in Parliament only reached forty. Such anomalies are unavoidable in any system of popular government. But in this case they are important. They show there is no sweeping change in the mind of the British public towards home rule as a political issue.

In England, at present, home rule stands as a live political question. It has strong friends and bitter enemies, but the majority, or rather the floating voters, who turn the tide of elections are uncertain in their opinion about its expediency. It is in the same state as Parliamentary Reform, or the extension of the franchise before those measures became actual law. As Disraeli on another occasion adopted the liberal measure for enlarging the electoral body which his party had so long opposed, so home rule advocacy now is a tempting subject to energetic and ambitious politicians of both English parties. Mr. Gladstone adopted it on higher grounds; but there has been only one Gladstone in British politics, and to find a similar character, we must go back to the days of Edmund Burke. In the British Empire, as in America, the party and personal interests shape the policy of the great mass of political leaders, be they Tory or Liberal. The character of the men now foremost in British politics is an important factor in estimating the probabilities of home rule in the near or distant future. The now dominant Unionists have certainly declared themselves against it, but Mr. Disraeli's career is evidence that consistency is by no means a prominent characteristic of British politicians. Their present leaders, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, are both striking examples of this fact. The former, just before the late election, was an ardent advocate of bimetallism as a remedy for the depression of English agricultural interests. He was scarcely seated in the treasury as its head, when he abandoned the cause of silver with a cool indifference worthy of Earl Beaconsfield himself. Mr. Chamberlain's public career began as a reformer of the most radical type, and his political creed approached very closely to socialism. He now holds office as an upholder of the House of Lords. The Duke of Devonshire, who is now the colleague of Lord Salisbury in a Tory administration, was for years regarded as Mr. Gladstone's probable successor in the leadership of the Liberals.

Sir William Harcourt was the most violent opponent of home rule during the first ten years of its agitation. With these examples in mind, it is safe to say that consistency on the part of public men counts for little in British politics.

With the Irish national representatives it is different. For nearly twenty years the attainment of self-government for Ireland has been without change the paramount object of their parliamentary work. Captain O'Shea is the only instance of a man elected on a home rule platform who changed his party allegiance for personal grounds. There have been internal dissensions, but there have been no desertions among them. The power of a minority devoted to one object in a larger body with varied interests is much greater than its mere numbers indicate. In the field of Imperial politics there are, at times, questions which divide the most powerful faction, and these are the legitimate opportunities of the minority which seeks an honest end with singleness of purpose. It is quite within the range of probabilities that the present *régime* may find it expedient to look for Irish help long before its six years' lease of power ends. There is another contingency not much mentioned, but which is anything but improbable. The death or abdication of the sovereign would, according to usage, entail a new election, and Queen Victoria's life is now far beyond three score and ten. It is well for the Irish people to brace themselves for a six years' struggle, but it by no means follows that they will have six years to wait for a reversal of the present condition of British politics.

The most important point, after all, in counting the chances for home rule within the next few years, is the course of action of the Irish people themselves, and their representatives in Parliament. Impatience and apathy are the chief dangers to be feared. The former may relax the bonds of discipline, which are essential to success in politics as in war. The latter may allow advantages already won to slip away, or may keep competent men from the direction of the national politics. That dissensions have occurred in the national ranks during the last four years is unfortunately true. The division into Parnellites and Nationalists caused the loss of three seats, and prevented the gain of at least two more in 1893, and has kept the ranks of the home rule representatives five or six lower than they might be in the present Parliament. The divisions between the friends of Mr. Healy and those of Mr. Dillon have been also disastrous, though they are a good deal exaggerated in the American and English press. Friction between members of the same party occurs everywhere, and there has been no more in the ranks of the Irish Nationalists than in those of either English party. Still it is unfortunate that it should occur at all at such a crisis of the nation's fate. The fault does not rest wholly with either side, and the divisions cannot be removed by mutual recriminations, however strongly either side may believe its own cause right. Mutual forbearance is the only remedy, and a

vigorous struggle in Parliament is, humanly speaking, the best means to that end.

In justice to the Irish members who have at the present moment charge of their country's interests, it should be remembered that their position is a much harder one than that of either the average English "Member" or American Congressmen. The latter are expected to devote their time to legislative work in the same way as the holder of any other public office, and they are paid for that time likewise. A member of the British Parliament attends it practically at his own discretion, and receives no compensation directly for whatever attendance he gives. The prizes to be won by party service in Parliament are, indeed, both numerous and valuable, but they depend on the ministry, not the public. The Colonial Governorships and Secretaryships, with salaries for some of them exceeding that which the United States pays to its President, the diplomatic service and a host of commissionerships of every kind are at the disposal of the Minister as rewards for Parliamentary service, and they amply compensate for any sacrifices of time in the House when they are obtained. The larger part of the members are men of wealth, who find compensation for their work in the help they are able to lend to their private interests, either commercial or proprietary, or else in the social status attached to the position. The Irish members are excluded by their position from nearly all these compensations.

It is a fixed rule of the home rule party that none of its members shall accept office, even from a home rule ministry, until Ireland obtains its own government. This rule has been faithfully maintained during the last fifteen years. Mr. Gladstone was ready to bestow the well-paid offices of the Irish Government on members of the Nationalist party, but their own rule forbade them accepting such. The landlord class, which furnishes so large a contingent of men of leisure for parliamentary service in England and Scotland, is generally hostile directly to Irish nationality. There are not more than three or four landlords, including Col. Nolan and Sir Thomas Esmonde, in the home rule ranks. The cost of attendance in Parliament, then, is a serious one for the Irish representatives. They are nearly all dependent on their personal work for a livelihood, and it is not a small sacrifice for a journalist, a physician, or a business man in Ireland to spend six months of his time in London, year after year, at constant and unrequited work. If we consider how large a part of political work in America is done for the sake of the offices, we shall wonder that the Irish Nationalist party has held together so well, not that there are some dissensions found among them.

The condition of affairs since the passage of the Home Rule

Bill through the Commons, has made the position of the Nationalists a most trying one. Gladstone's efforts had, after a struggle of seven years, been rewarded by a remarkable victory, but still an incomplete one. The British friends of home rule had won control of the administration and the Commons, the two most important parts of the Imperial Government, but they were blocked in further progress by the opposition of the Lords.

The history of England shows that, in every case of serious conflict the Lords have surely to give way to the elected representatives of the people; but, it requires a certain amount of time to accomplish that result. A ministry, supported by the Commons and public opinion, could at any time swamp the House of Lords by the creation of an overwhelming number of peers, but to take such a step, the ministry must be sure of the popular support, as a new election would be unavoidable. Mr. Gladstone did not feel that he could rely on such a support in the present temper of the English voters, and hence it was necessary for his party to wait a favorable occasion for taking the final step to making home rule a reality. The fact was, in itself, a confession of present weakness, and it naturally caused a feeling of discouragement among the Irish people, and gave room for much adverse criticism among the half-hearted home rulers, and those who entertained partisan or personal dislikes to individual members. The expediency of the Nationalist members taking a more active parliamentary policy to emphasize the disposition of the Irish people on the question, was urged by some members of the party and denied by others. The risk of increasing the difficulties of a friendly though weak administration, had to be balanced against the risk of allowing the people to grow apathetic for want of political action. The decision was a most difficult one. On the one hand, Ireland continued to suffer nearly all the evils of the Union system; on the other, that system was being administered by the very men who were anxious to see it ended on the ground of its radical defects. It is human nature the world over, that such a state of things should provoke impatience and outbursts of temper among some members of a body of seventy-three individuals, and still more among a population of some millions.

Such has been the case in Ireland, but by no means to any very remarkable extent. Among the Parliamentary representatives the chief differences have arisen over the management of the *Freeman's Journal*, which is the official organ of the party. The management of a great newspaper, both in a literary and a business sense is a difficult task enough and it is small wonder that strong differences of opinion should occur regarding it in a body of seventy men or more. That faults have been committed on both

sides it is only human nature to believe, but that they have been such as to threaten disruption of the party there is no evidence whatever. It would probably be for the best interests of the country that the direct connection of the party with the *Freeman's Journal* should cease but the details of such a course must be judged by those immediately connected with it. The action of Mr. Chance in forcing William O'Brien into bankruptcy for a lawyer's bill or rather the balance of such a bill amounting to a couple of thousand dollars and for which Mr. O'Brien was only legally responsible, was the most discreditable occurrence of the last two years in the Irish party. The responsibility of it must rest with Mr. Chance, and it must be admitted that there are few political parties in any country that have not from time to time to reckon with personal scandals among some of their members. Mr. Healy's attack on the committee of the party at Omagh on the comparatively unimportant point of allowing certain doubtful constituencies in Ulster to be contested for by Liberal home rulers who were not actual members of the Nationalist party was also a most regrettable occurrence. For faults of temper, however, in a political party the only safe remedy is mutual forbearance and as far as possible, oblivion. Irish self-government may be won even though Mr. Healy entertains no love for Mr. Blake or Mr. Dillon or though Mr. Dillon's friends regard Mr. Healy as rash, and overbearing in his personal conduct. The history of our own Revolutionary War affords ample evidence of far more bitter rivalries among the founders of our Constitution than those which have occurred in the ranks of Irish Nationalists, yet these rivalries did not prevent the ultimate triumph of the American cause.

We are by no means disposed to undervalue the importance of complete harmony in the Irish Party. We are convinced that the dissensions caused by Mr. Parnell's action have been highly injurious to the cause of home rule in the minds of the English people and that their effacement would be the most effective measure that could now be taken for making it successful. But we do not believe that they have been of a nature to make us lose faith in the ultimate success of home rule. It may be that the accession of a hostile party to power will prove the harbinger of union to the Irish Nationalists of all shades of opinion. To attain that end requires above all mutual forbearance and resolute abstention from bitterness of language towards one another. To a united Irish party, Parliament, even with a hostile majority, offers a field of combat in which the national enthusiasm may be developed to a higher point than ever. In it the lines of faction should and must be effaced and we have every hope that the present leaders of the Irish people will attain that much desired end ere long.

Scientific Chronicle.

PRECIOUS STONES—GEMS—JEWELS. II.

In the July number of this Review we spoke of "Precious Stones, Gems and Jewels" in general. We there adopted a classification which then seemed, and still seems to us, the most satisfactory for the end in view. In this system of classification, Precious Stones, etc., are arranged in fourteen groups, beginning with Diamond, the hardest, and ending with Pearl, the softest. We then gave some details about the first group, the Diamond, and it now only remains for us to describe briefly the members of the other thirteen groups.

Dealing with the Diamond was comparatively plain sailing, but to manage the other groups is a very different matter. The prime cause of the difficulties encountered here, is that neither Chaldeans, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Greeks nor Romans had any sufficient knowledge of chemistry. Theophrastus, the father of mineralogy, was a gentleman and a scholar, Pliny was a scholar and a hustler, and they both did the best they knew how, for which we tender them our thanks. In describing Precious Stones however, they had to rely solely on the more apparent physical properties, among which color held the first place. As a consequence, stones that were almost identical were kept far apart, and stones that differed very much in substance, were classed together. Hence several words were often used to designate the same stone, and several different stones were just as often designated by the same word. Their successors for twenty centuries were in the same predicament, and the result was, uncertainty, babel, chaos, and confusion.

Armed with the deepest knowledge, and the best appliances of analytical chemistry, the moderns have worked with indefatigable patience to unravel the tangled yarn, and have succeeded in doing so in a large measure, but many points still remain undecided and are likely to remain so. Without pretending to mount into the clear atmosphere of the Higher Criticism (our balloon being out of repair) we have endeavored, with the help of such approved authors as King, Feuchtwanger, Emanuel and Dana, to tell as much truth as in us lies. With this we start in on our groups.

Corundum Group.

The principal members of this group are the *Sapphire*, the *Ruby*, the *Topaz* (oriental), the *Amethyst* (oriental), and the *Emerald* (oriental). They are all properly corundums, their chemical composition being practically identical, consisting as they do of about 98 per cent. of alumina, with about 1 per cent. of iron oxide, and ½ of one per cent. of lime. The alumina (Al_2O_3) is the essential, the iron and lime being considered as accidental impurities.

CORUNDUM occurs in the form of hexagonal crystals, sometimes flat at the ends, sometimes tapering; also in the massive state, and again in the form of grains, in neither of which two cases can the crystalline form be clearly made out. The Sanskrit word is *Korund*, the Hindoo, *Kurand*, but in the older English works it was usually called *Adamantine Spar*, or *Diamond Spar*.

EMERY is a granular corundum containing a considerable quantity of magnetic oxide of iron. Common corundum is found plentifully in China, the Ural mountains, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and South Carolina; emery in Asia Minor and at Chester, Mass.

On account of their hardness, in which they yield only to the diamond, both emery and corundum are used for grinding, cutting and polishing. Within the last few years a large industry has sprung up in the United States, in the manufacture of wheels for grinding and cutting, the basis of which is corundum, more or less finely powdered, and held together by some suitable cement. The texture of these wheels is regulated according to the kind of work they are intended to perform, and when properly cared for they will outgrind any grindstone, outfile any file, and outsaw any saw that was ever made for use on brass, iron, steel, or indeed any metal whatever. But let us return to our gems, the ones we are engaged with just here being the transparent crystals of corundum, which we take up in the order given above.

1. SAPPHIRE.—The stone frequently mentioned in the Bible under the Hebrew name *Sappir* is probably identical with our Sapphire. The Greeks had the word *Sappheiros* and the Romans *Sapphirus*, which they applied to almost any stone of a blue color, and sometimes to stones that were not blue, so that it is almost impossible at times to know what they were talking about. For example, our ancient friend, Theophrastus (died B.C. 287), the beloved disciple and successor of Aristotle, has left us among other valued works, a book "On Stones," but his description of *Sappheiros* therein contained, would lead us to believe that he had in view the *lapis-lazuli*, a very pretty stone indeed, but one which in modern times has been used principally in the manufacture of a beautiful blue pigment, called *ultramarine*. In like manner Pliny (died A.D. 79) gives us a description of the *Sapphirus*, from which it is even more probable that the *lapis-lazuli* is the stone meant. When however commerce with the far East became more general, the true sapphire became better known, and the inferior lapis-lazuli stepped down to its proper level without a murmur, and has remained there quietly ever since.

Sapphires have been found in many parts of the world. Large masses of the stone, but too opaque to be used as gems, have been brought to light in North Carolina, and many specimens have been found elsewhere in the United States, as New Jersey, New York, Connecticut and Montana. Transparent varieties come from China, also from Ava, a ruined city of Burmah, India. The principal mines however of this latter region are at Mogaot and Kyat-Pyan, five days' journey from Ava. The emperor generously reserves all the larger specimens for himself.

The island of Ceylon, in the Indian Ocean, is however the true rest-

ing place of the sapphire, and it is here that from time immemorial the choicest stones of this species have been mined.

In color the sapphire is sometimes white (colorless), and then it is perfectly identical with the white Topaz, and so closely resembles the diamond that a mere ocular examination, even by an expert, would fail to detect a difference. It can however be readily distinguished by the fact that its hardness is 9, while that of the diamond is 10, and that its specific gravity is 3.9 to 4.2, while that of the diamond is only 3.4 to 3.6.

Colored sapphires are of all shades and tints of blue, sometimes verging to purple. The color most esteemed is that which approximates to blue velvet of the shade formerly called "*bleu du roi*," "the king's blue," which our lady readers will of course immediately recognize. To be considered perfect in color the sapphire should be *pure*, that is, colored evenly, and should appear of the same hue by candle-light as by daylight, but many otherwise perfect gems fail in this particular. The ancients called sapphires *male* and *female* according to their tint, the deep colored, or indigo, being denominated male, the pale-blue, female.

Some translucent sapphires, when exposed to the sun or to the light of a candle, display white lines running in six directions from some one point. This phenomenon is best seen when the gem has been cut *en cabochon* (strongly convex), and when the principal axis of the crystal is perpendicular to the base of the cut stone. On account of this star-effect such a stone is called an *asteria*. Asterism occurs also in the ruby and some other stones.

The "cut" that will best bring out the good points of a given sapphire depends on the greater or less intensity of its color, and its degree of transparency. If the color is full and rich, the best form is the "brilliant," if paler, the top should be cut as a brilliant and the bottom in "steps." In setting, the sapphire is often backed up with silver, or blue-colored foil, or even with blue feathers from the head of a duck or pigeon, but a perfectly pure stone should be set "free," that is without any backing whatever.

Cameos and intaglios of sapphire are known to have been executed, but the number is quite small, doubtless on account of the great difficulty of engraving on so hard a stone, for which purpose only instruments of diamond will suffice. King testifies to having seen a beautiful head of Jupiter, one of the finest productions of the Greek school. Also a head of Julius Cæsar, the stone of an octagonal shape, and of the finest color, pure and deep. Also a head of Alexander the Great, as it appears on his coins; and of later date a portrait of Pope Paul III. by the celebrated Alessandro Cesati, "a truly inestimable gem both for the fineness of the stone itself, and for the spirit and life of the engraving."

Some Large Sapphires.

The largest pure sapphire known was once in the possession of the King of Ava. It weighed 951 carats. Its value has not been stated, but it must have been something enormous.

A beautiful sapphire, formerly in the Imperial Museum of France, weighed $132\frac{1}{16}$ carats. It was without flaw or fault, and was valued at $20,000. It was found in Bengal, by a poor man who dealt in wooden spoons. Later it was found in the hands of a Roman merchant, named Rospoli, who passed it on to a German prince. The latter in turn sold it to the jeweler Perret, of Paris, for $35,000, but the finder never got beyond his wooden spoons.

Among the Crown Jewels of France were 150 sapphires of the aggregate weight of 350 carats, the whole estimated at $120,000.

Miss Burdett Coutts, in the days of her maidenhood, was the owner of two splendid sapphires, worth together, in the estimation of experts, at least $125,000.

The King of Aracan, India, owned one, fully an inch in diameter, and Sir Abram Hume a still larger one three inches in length.

Two sapphires, remarkable for size, were found by Charles W. Jenks in his mine at Franklin, N. C. Unhappily they are not transparent enough for gems. The first is the monster sapphire of the world, but it is off color, and opaque. It weighs 312 pounds! The other is of a better color, but far from pure. Its greatest breadth is six inches, and length five. It weighs $11\frac{3}{4}$ pounds. Both are in the Shepard collection of Amherst College.

2. Ruby (oriental).—As has been already noted the ruby differs from the sapphire only in color. This varies from the palest rose tint to the deepest carmine-red. It is neither the very pale nor yet the darkest that is most esteemed, but a full, rich, blood-red. The lustre is vitreous and very lively. Occasionally specimens are found *asteriated*, and these are very highly prized.

Rubies are perhaps rather more widely disseminated than sapphires. They have been found in various localities in the United States, as Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Colorado and Montana, but these are usually too opaque to serve as gems; and the same is to be said of those that come from Australia. Brazil has furnished a few, also France and Germany. Ceylon, Sumatra and Borneo have furnished many excellent stones, but the finest are from Pegu, a province of Burmah. The traditions of the Brahmins tell of the abode of the gods, lighted up by enormous rubies and emeralds. Of course in the olden times the mines were a strict government monopoly, so much so that one of the titles of the King of Pegu was, "Lord of the Rubies." The mines are now worked by a London syndicate.

A few ancient cameos and intaglios cut in this material, some of them dating back to B.C. 500, are still in existence. Among these is a head of Hercules magnificently engraved on a rather poor stone; a splendid head of Thetis, wearing a helmet the shape of a crab's shell, the stone being somewhat irregular in shape, but of a beautiful rose color; a pale ruby on which is engraved a full face of a Bacchante crowned with ivy, the expression of the face full of wild inspiration, and the exquisite treatment of the hair and flesh beyond all praise, a true masterpiece of the best days of the Greek glyptic school.

Some Large Rubies.

The King of Viaspur had two rubies, one of which weighed 50¾ carats, and which was valued at $12,000, the other 17½ carats, and valued at $15,000, the latter, though the smaller, being by far the more perfect gem.

The King of Burmah, according to Emanuel "is said to possess a ruby as large as a pigeon's egg, and of extraordinary quality; but no European having seen it, its existence may or may not be a fact." The insinuation that only a European can be depended on to tell the truth, is amusing. The Empress Catharine of Russia, however did certainly possess just such a gem, which was presented to her in 1777 by Gustave III. King of Sweden.

Wahls testifies to having seen a ruby of 436 carats, and Furtière one of 240 carats, but they were Europeans, you know.

A native governor of Deccan, Hindustan, owned an excessively fine one, fully an inch in diameter; but what is believed to be the finest ruby in the world was the property of the King of Pegu. Its purity has passed into a proverb, "As pure as the Ruby of Pegu," and its value is beyond all estimation.

There are of course some fine rubies among the Crown Jewels of various nations, and in private collections, but the number of these gems, really perfect in every respect is very small.

A one-carat ruby is usually of about equal value with a one-carat diamond, while a perfect two-carat, or three-carat, ruby may considerably surpass the corresponding diamond. Still the value of the ruby is liable to fluctuate a good deal, and hence, taking it all in all, the diamond stills hold the first rank.

3. Topaz (oriental).—The *Topazion* of the Greeks, and *Topazius* of the Romans was what we now called *chrysolite*, or *Peridot*, of which more anon; but the transparent corundum now called oriental Topaz was by them called *chrusolithos* and *chrysolithus* respectively.

The name Topaz has reference to the place where the stone was procured, Topazos, an island in the Red Sea; the other word is derived from chrusos (gold) and lithos (a stone), and well expresses its beautiful golden color. It is the yellow *Jacut* of the Persians who describe it as being "transparent with golden lustre." The ancients obtained it from India, but very few, if any, specimens of undoubted genuineness are known to exist at the present time.

4. Amethyst (oriental).—This gem is a corundrum whose color varies from purple to almost pure blue, and the dividing line between the very bluest amethyst and the sapphire is made out with difficulty. True oriental amethysts are so scarce, that they can hardly be called an article of commerce. A few fine specimens are preserved in the "Green Vaults" of Dresden: and in the Vatican Museum may be seen a couple of intaglios, in this stone, of very early date.

There is some uncertainty about the origin of the name. Some think it may be from the Persian, *shemest;* others that it is from some Indian word which has left traces of itself in the Hebrew, *achlamath*, the tail

end of which—*amath*—begins to spell pretty well either the Greek (amethustos), the Latin (amethystus), or the English (amethyst). The Greeks claimed the name as their own, and derived it from *a* (privative) and *methuo, to intoxicate*, because they believed that wine drunk from a cup of that material would not intoxicate, and that even the wearing of the gem would preserve the wearer from the effects of even the strongest wines. They even wrote verses on this subject, one strain of which refers to Cleopatra's signet ring, an amethyst engraved with the figure of Methe, the female genius of intoxication:

> "A Maenad wild, on Amethyst I stand,
> The engraving truly of a skillful hand;
> A subject foreign to the sober stone,
> But Cleopatra claims it for her own;
> And hallowed by her touch, the nymph so free
> Must quit her drunken mood and sober be."

Pliny says the reason for the name is "because these gems never come up to the true color of good wine." Among these derivations everybody is free to choose the one which suits his taste, or else to invent a better one.

5. Emerald (oriental). This gem differs from the true emerald, to be described later, not only in composition, but because it is of a paler tint, though possessing a superior lustre. Very little seems to be known about it, and Emanuel dismisses the subject in three lines, thus: "This, the green variety (of corundum), is the rarest of all gems, and is scarcely ever seen. In the whole course of my experience, I have only met with one specimen."

Yet, the Iron Crown of Lombardy, which existed at least as early as the sixth century, as well as the Cross of King Lothaire, of the ninth century, and the Crown of Hungary of the tenth century, are all said to have been adorned with emeralds, some in the rough, some cut, and some even engraved. Doubts, however, remain in the minds of jewelers, as to whether they were real corundums or not.

Be that as it may, since Emanuel wrote it is certain that emeralds (corundum) have been discovered in the United States. Kuntz describes one from the Culsagee mine in North Carolina. He says that among the minerals found there "is probably the finest known specimen of emerald-green sapphire (oriental emerald). It is the transparent part of a crystal of corundum, $4 \times 2 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, from which could be cut several pieces that would together furnish from 80 to 100 carats of very fine, almost emerald-green gems (not too dark, as is the Siamese), the largest possibly 20 carats or more in weight. As its color is one of the rarest known, it makes this specimen a very valuable one." It is in the collection of Clarence S. Bement of Philadelphia.

Chrysoberyl Group.

This group comprises *Chrysoberyl*, *Alexandrite* and *Cymophane*. Their composition is, alumina 80.2 and glucina 19.8 per cent., with traces of coloring matters. In the scale of hardness they stand at 8.5.

1. The CHRYSOBERYL of the mineralogist is called *Indian Chrysolite* by the jeweler. It is a very brilliant gem, the color being "green tinged with a golden lustre," with variations towards red.

2. ALEXANDRITE appears by reflected light of an olive-green color, but by transmitted light is columbine red. It was named in honor of Alexander I. of Russia, on whose birth-day it was discovered.

3. CYMOPHANE is a semi-transparent variety of chrysoberyl. It is opalescent, and when cut *en cabochon* frequently exhibits a distinct ray running across the stone, whence its common name, *Cat's Eye.*

In the time of Louis XIV. chrysoberyls were much in vogue, and nearly equalled the diamond in price, but the fashion has long since died out, and at present they are considered of no account. The Cat's Eye alone has held its own, fine specimens of which are still worth from $500 to $1500 apiece.

SPINEL (OR SPINELLE) GROUP.

The composition of a perfectly colorless type-specimen of *Spinel* should be, one molecule of alumina with one of magnesia, corresponding very nearly to 72 per cent. of the former and 28 per cent. of the latter. This would be the mineralogist's ideal, but it is very seldom realized. We shall mention in a moment some of the divergencies from the ideal composition. The jeweler, as such, cares little about molecules and theories, but wants such forms and characteristics in his gems as will render them things of beauty; and these he finds in abundance in the spinel group.

Spinels are found in all shades and tints of red, orange, green, blue, indigo and violet, thus giving us every color of the spectrum except yellow, to atone for which omission black and white are thrown in. In the scale of hardness, spinel reaches 8. The following are the most important members of this group:

1. The RUBY SPINEL (or *Spinel Ruby*) from Ceylon is of a fine lively red color, but has a cinnamon tint mixed with it, which renders it far less brilliant than the true ruby. In this gem there is about 2 per cent. less of both alumina and magnesia than in the ideal named above, but the deficit is made up by the presence of silica and the oxides of iron and chromium. This spinel possesses the curious property that when heated it becomes brown, but during the subsequent cooling it changes to green, then becomes almost colorless, and finally resumes its original color and tint.

2. BALAS RUBY. This spinel is said to have derived its name from the ancient name of Beloochistan, which was called Balaschan, and whence the gem was obtained. It was as first thought to be a true ruby, but its inferior hardness (8), and its lower specific gravity (3.8), betrayed it. It is of a rose-pink color, very beautiful, and often occurs in quite large crystals. The King of Oude had one as large as a pigeon's egg, and of great lustre, but we are getting tired of pigeons' eggs.

The value of the Balas has always been very uncertain and variable. A 40-carat stone which in 1856 cost $2000, was sold six years later for $400, and three years after that it brought $1200.

3. Rubicelle is a spinel of an orange color. It is extremely rare, and very little seems to be known about it.

4. Gahnite is a green spinel. It differs from all the others in containing a large proportion of zinc oxide, sometimes as high as 45 per cent., while the magnesia dwindles down to 5 or 6 per cent. The color varies from mere greenish through deep green to almost black.

5. Sapphirine, as the name indicates, is of a pale-blue color. It is found in Sweden, Finland, Moravia, Italy and Ceylon.

6. Almandine Ruby is a spinel whose color is a cross between violet, blue, red, and brown, the violet predominating. It somewhat resembles garnet, but is lighter in color, of a stronger lustre, and is very much harder.

7. Pleonast and Hercynite are black spinels. They are found plentifully in Ceylon, Bohemia, Tyrol, and in many places in the United States. A specimen of Pleonast from Orange Co., N. Y., was 12 inches in diameter. In these varieties iron oxide almost entirely replaces the magnesia of the red varieties.

8. The white spinel occurs at La Riccia, near Rome, Italy.

Topaz Group.

Common Topaz is composed of alumina, silica, and fluorine, in slightly varying proportions. Its hardness is 8. It is found in almost every part of the world. The following varieties are known in commerce:

1. Water Drops, *i.e.*, pebbles—clear, limpid.
2. Siberian Topaz—white, sometimes with bluish tinge.
3. Brazilian Topaz—gold-yellow, with a touch of red.
4. Saxon Topaz—pale wine-yellow.
5. Indian Topaz—saffron-yellow.
6. Brazilian Ruby—light rose-red.
7. Brazilian Sapphire—light-blue.
8. Aquamarine Topaz—sea-green to mountain-green. This aquamarine must not be confounded with the aquamarine of the next group, nor yet with an aquamarine of the ancients, which belongs to the corundum group.

Formerly, the Topaz in all its different varieties was much admired, the *Water* Drops, the *Brazilian Topaz* and the *Brazilian Ruby* standing at the top of the list.

Sometimes, crystals attain large dimensions. One from Colorado weighs 18½ pounds; one in the Imperial Museum of St. Petersburg measures 6½ by 11¾ inches, and weighs 22½ pounds; one from Broddbo, Sweden, 80 pounds.

Specimens measuring ¾ inch in length, and ½ inch in diameter, have been sold for $100. The Grand Mogul sold one of 157¾ carats for $60,000; but nowadays they are not in demand, and good, small gems may be had from 50 cents and upwards.

Beryl Group.

Beryl is a generic term for several minerals which are composed, in part, of oxide of glucinum (=glucina), otherwise called *beryllium.*

The best known and most important members of this group are *Aquamarine* and *Emerald.* We have met both these names before, but the gems to which they properly belong are of this group.

1. *Aquamarine* was well known to the ancients; and Pliny speaks of the finest beryls as those "qui viriditatem puri maris imitantur," literally, "which rival the greenness of the clear sea"; hence the name, *aquamarine,* which means *sea-water.* The color, however, varies in different specimens from pure green to bluish-green, yellowish-green, and greenish-white; but, in all cases, it is pale rather than deep. Its hardness ranges from 7.5 to 8, or slightly over.

An aquamarine of 171 carats, from Siberia, was valued at $120,000. The tiara of Pope Julius III. was ornamented with one of extraordinary size and beauty. One in London weighed 540 carats; one in Paris, 133 carats, and in the same city, an exquisite gem of 20 carats was sold for $3000. Baron Struve owned one that was 15 inches long and 2 inches in diameter; and Don Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, had in his possession a splendid crystal weighing 18½ pounds, resembling in size and form the head of a calf; one side of it was perfectly transparent, of a fine bottle-green color and without a flaw.

The largest ones yet discovered have come from Grafton and Acworth, New Hampshire, whence we have one 3½ feet long and 3 feet thick; another, 4 by 2½ feet, and another, 6¼ feet long; and still another, weighing 2½ tons. Very large crystals are never perfect throughout, but they may sometimes be cut so as to yield a number of very good small gems.

As far as beauty is concerned, the finest specimen found in North America was from Stoneham, Me.; it was originally 5 inches long and 3 inches broad. When viewed in the direction of the longer axis, the color was a rich sea-green, but a deep sea-blue when viewed crosswise. It was cut by Kuntz, as a brilliant, yielding a splendid gem of 133¼ carats, which is now in the Dexter collection. The remnants of this stone gave, besides, over 300 carats of small but fine gems.

2. Emerald.—The Emerald of the Beryl Group, as well as that of the Corundum Group, appears to have been known from the most remote times, but in ancient writings it is often very difficult to determine which of the two is meant. It is certain that no mines of this gem are known in India, and hence some have gone so far as to assert that this, the true, emerald was unknown in Europe until after the discovery of Peru by the Spaniards, in 1526. They say that the emeralds described previously to that date, in European collections, were either oriental emeralds, or else that, if really belonging to the Beryl Group, they came to Europe by way of the Philippine Islands and India. King denies this, and maintains that even long before the discovery by Columbus the true emerald was well known in Europe "from whatever region it might have been procured." When all available evidence has been sifted, the balance seems to be entirely on the side of King, and it is strengthened by the fact that the emerald is now found in Siberia, in Tyrol, at Zabara near the Red Sea, and in some other places. From Siberia it

might easily have found its way into India, and thence into Europe. Moreover, an ancient emerald mine, with large galleries bearing the marks of the mining tools, with various appliances, such as levers, cranks, etc., has been rediscovered in Egypt. From this place the Romans could have drawn their supplies, and probably did so.

However this point may be settled, it is not in the gorgeous East, but in the Western World that the Lord saw fit to deposit the great bulk of his emeralds. After the conquest of Peru, the Spaniards took possession of the hoards of emeralds which had been accumulating for centuries in the hands of the priests of the goddess Esmeralda. This beautiful lady was supposed to reside in an emerald of the size and shape of an ostrich-egg. All the other emeralds were her children, and on her festal days, immense numbers of those precious children, were offered up at her shrine. Hundreds of pounds of emeralds were appropriated by the conquerors, but many more were destroyed by an ignorant method of testing their genuineness, which method consisted in striking them with a hammer on an anvil. These statements seem to be correct, but Emanuel adds: "In spite of this, Cortez was able to present one hundredweight to the King of Spain; and on the occasion of his (Cortez's) marriage, he gave to his bride several emeralds carved into various forms, among them, an enormous stone shaped like a rose, a gift which aroused the envy of the Queen, and caused him to lose his favor at the Court." There must be some blunder here, for Pizarro, not Cortez, was the conqueror of Peru, and it was Cortez, not Pizarro, that lost his favor at the Court. We shall hardly feel at ease until the Higher Criticism has taken a good grip on this matter.

In later times the finest emeralds have come from Muso (or Muzo) in New Grenada, and the mines there were for some time extensively worked; but the government tax was so great ($40,000 a year), that they had to be abandoned. Many fine, and some very large, specimens suitable for cabinet collections, have been found in North Carolina, Connecticut, Maine, Colorado, etc., but very few that could be cut into first class gems.

The beautiful deep-green color of the emerald, by which it is distinguished from the aquamarine, is unsurpassed by any other stone, and it has always been highly esteemed both in the rough and in the cut state, but especially has it been a favorite with the engraver.

"Neroni oculi hebetes nisi quum ad prope admota conniveret" says an ancient author. This being thrashed out literally into English is: "Nero's eyes were weak, except when he squinted at things brought near," in other words, he was very near-sighted, and hence to view the combats of the gladiators he looked through an emerald. In order to explain the effect produced in this case, it is only necessary to recall the fact that emeralds were quite frequently hollowed out at the back so as to be rendered more transparent. When this was done, the gem naturally acted as a concave lens, and so corrected short-sightedness; but the hint was not acted on for the manufacture of spectacles till more than a thousand years later.

The value of emeralds has varied a good deal both up and down, in the course of time. A very perfect one of 6 carats has been sold for $5000. One larger than a man's head is said to have been preserved in the chapel of Our Lady of Loretto, for which an offer of over $100,000 was refused. There was a magnificent lustrous emerald in the Crown of Charlemagne, but its value is not known. Absolutely flawless specimens are very rare, and when such are found they command fabulous prices.

In the middle ages, this stone was often used for the manufacture of cups, chalices and other vases of various forms, while the number of engravings on this gem is beyond computation. It is said that there was once a head of Christ, cut in emerald by order of the Emperor Tiberius. It was a profile, of which modern pictures pretend to be copies. In the 15th century it was taken out of the treasury vault at Constantinople, and delivered by the Emperor of the Turks to Pope Innocent VIII. as a ransom for his brother, at that time a prisoner in the hands of the christians. The whole story however is rather doubtful.

Hyacinth (or Jacinth) Group.

1. The true Hyacinth is simply crystallized Zirconium Silicate ($ZrSiO_4$), that is, a definite chemical combination of silica with the oxide of the rare metal Zirconium. The gem however usually contains a small percentage of iron oxide, which is considered as an impurity. Its hardness is 7.5. Its color is brownish-yellow, brownish-red, and orange-red.

2. Jargon (or Jargoon) differs in no respect from Hyacinth except in color, it being sometimes colorless, sometimes greenish, but generally with a smoky appearance.

In lustre and fire, these stones when first found are almost equal to the diamond, and have often been palmed off as such on the unwary, but the fraud might easily have been prevented by the test of hardness. Moreover they are very liable to fade in color and lose of their lustre, by continued exposure to the light, and however much they may have been esteemed in other days, at the present time they have no value as gems.

This stone must not be confounded with the Hyacinthus of the Romans, by which name they probably meant the oriental amethyst, or topaz.

Garnet Group.

Under the generic name *Garnet*, is comprised a long list of minerals, differing indeed considerably in composition, but agreeing in the forms of their crystals. They are found in greater or less abundance all over the world. Many of them are of interest only to the mineralogist, but some are in esteem with the jeweler. Among these latter are *Almandine*, *Cinnamon-Stone* and *Pyrope*. The composition of these three is given as follows:

Almandine.

	Per cent.
Silica,	36.30
Alumina,	20.50
Iron Oxide,	43.20

Cinnamon-Stone.

	Per cent.
Silica,	40.00
Alumina,	22.70
Lime,	37.30

Pyrope.

	Per cent.
Silica,	44.80
Alumina,	25.40
Magnesia,	29.80

All three usually contain also a little manganese oxide, to which in the third is added, a trace of chromium oxide. Their hardness is from 6.5 to 7.5.

1. Almandine is of a fine deep-red color, inclining to violet, and in the more esteemed specimens is transparent. It was formerly much worn in jewelry, as rings, breastpins, necklaces, etc. The larger ones are generally opaque, but a remarkably fine transparent one, measuring ¾ × ½-inch was sold for over $700. Nowadays they are bought and sold by the pound.

2. Cinnamon-Stone (Essonite) is of a reddish-yellow or brownish-yellow color; in other respects it resembles in physical properties the Almandine.

3. Pyrope varies in color from a very deep red to almost black. In Austria and some other parts of eastern Europe it is highly prized, and necklaces of beads, the size of peas, have brought as much as $300, but in other places the stone has little value.

Tourmaline Group.

The members of this group are of a rather complex composition but they need not detain us, as they are not the stuff of which gems are made. Tourmaline is remarkable however on account of its wonderful power of polarizing light. Two slices of transparent tourmaline may be so cut, that when placed one on the other, in a certain direction, the compound slice is transparent, but when laid together in another direction no light will pass through. This property is utilized in certain investigations in optics, but it hardly calls forth any admiration on the part of the jeweler.

Quartz Group.

Probably more varieties and sub-varieties are comprised under the head of Quartz than under any other head in mineralogy. They are all composed of Silicon Oxide or Silica, SiO_2, either pure or mixed with a small percentage of impurities. The hardness of quartz ranges from 6 to 7.

Crystals of quartz occasionally occur of enormous size. A group of several crystals in one mass in the University of Naples weighs nearly half a ton. A single crystal preserved at Milan measures 3¼ feet in length and 5½ in circumference, its weight being estimated at 870 pounds, another in Paris 3 feet in diameter weighs 800 pounds. About

a century ago a mine was opened at Zinken which afforded 50 tons of rock crystal, that brought $300,000. Some of the single crystals weighed nearly ½ ton. A crystal from Waterbury, Vt., 2 feet long and 18 inches through weighs 175 pounds. Quartz is found, under some one or more of its varieties, in almost every nook and corner of the globe.

There are from 50 to 60 varieties and sub-varieties of quartz, of which about one-half exist in the form of crystals, the rest being amorphous, or at most only indistinctly crystalline. A goodly number of both kinds are used for ornamentation, but we have space to merely mention a few of the best known.

1. Rock Crystal is colorless or nearly so, and beautifully transparent. It has been used from the earliest times for seals, cups, vases and ornaments of all kinds. In modern days it has been employed for the manufacture of eye-glasses on account of its hardness, which preserves it from wear and accidental scratches, and also on account of its limpidity, in which it surpasses the best glass. If however, through ignorance or design, the crystal be not cut in the proper direction with respect to its axis, the lenses so formed are said to be injurious to the eyes. They are called in the trade "Brazilian Pebbles."

2. Amethyst is a quartz of a more or less deep purple or violet color. According to some the coloring matter is some compound of manganese, but this we believe has not been thoroughly proved by careful analysis. Others assert that in some instances the color is destroyed by heat, and hence conclude that it is merely an organic material. However the case may be finally settled, a perfect amethyst, perfect both as to form and color, is a marvel of beauty.

3. Cairngorm (named after a place in Scotland) varies in color from brown to smoky yellow, much after the manner of Scotch metaphysics.

4. Cat's Eye quartz is translucent, gray or greenish in color, and when cut *en cabochon*, displays the peculiar effect called *chatoyant*, whence it is sometimes mistaken for the Cat's Eye of the chrysoberyl group; but it may be distinguished by a comparison of its scratching powers.

5. Chalcedony is a variety of quartz in the amorphous, or non-crystallized state. It is at most only semi-transparent, and many kinds are quite opaque. It is divided into a score or more of sub-varieties, among which the following are the best known;

(*a*) *Carnelian* (*the Sard of the ancients*). The color in some specimens is clear red, pale to deep in shade; in others clear yellow. The color instead of being injured, as is the case with some other gems, by long exposure to sunlight, is often much improved thereby.

(*b*) *Bloodstone* or *Heliotrope* differs from carnelian in being filled with small spots of red jasper resembling drops of blood. The name Heliotrope from *helios*, the sun, and *trope*, a turning, is derived from the notion that, when immersed in water, it turned the image of the sun into blood-red.

(*c*) *Jasper* is of many colors, different specimens giving us, according

to some authorities, dark-green, red, brown and yellow, but in all cases with a bluish tinge, this last being its characteristic mark.

(*d*) *Agate* is a variegated chalcedony. The colors are either (*α*) banded, or (*β*) in clouds, or (*γ*) due to visible impurities.

(*α*) The bands are composed of delicate parallel lines of various shades and tints, all the way from milky-white, to inky-black. They are sometimes straight, sometimes wavy, or zigzag, sometimes concentric circular.

(*β*) In the clouded agates, the colors are of various tints, and are artistically irregular in their arrangement.

(*γ*) Colors due to visible impurities are seen in the *Moss-agate* or *Mocha-stone* which is filled with brown, moss-like forms of manganese oxide. In others the impurities take shapes somewhat resembling the branches of trees, and are hence called *dendrites*, from the Greek *dendron*, a tree, and display sometimes a beautiful forest, in miniature.

(*e*) The *Oynx* is another chalcedony, differing from the agate, in that the layers of different colors are in straight, even planes. The colors most frequently encountered are white and black, or white, brown and black, or white and red, in alternate layers, and they are perfectly well defined with abrupt transitions from one to the other.

This structure renders the onyx invaluable for cameo work, since it enables the skilful engraver to make the head, or other figure, in one color, and the background in another, thus causing the important part to appear in bolder relief, by reason of the contrast. In some rare cases even three layers have been utilized, and when the stone has been well chosen, and the engraver is worthy of his subject, the result is striking beyond description. (Mexican onyx is merely carbonate of lime, with a banded structure similar in outward appearance to the true onyx).

(*f*) *Sardonyx* is an onyx in which some of the layers consist of carnelian, or sard, and it is worked in the same way as the onyx.

(*g*) *Flint* is a compact, opaque, dull colored chalcedony. It is of course of no use as a gem, but it has been said that "Flint has shown more 'fire,' than all other stones together." This remark was perfectly intelligible to the men of '76, but it will probably be lost on most of those of the present generation.

All of these varieties of quartz, flint excepted, have been used freely in times gone by, and are still used, in the manufacture of finger rings, ear-rings, breast-pins, buttons, beads, necklaces, seals, charms, snuff-boxes, ointment-boxes, knife, dagger, and sword handles, etc.

The most celebrated engraving on agate is probably the great cameo of the Sainte Chapelle. It was brought from Constantinople to St. Louis, from whom it passed into the hands of Charles V., who placed it in the Sainte Chapelle of his palace. "It was thought at that time to represent the triumph of Joseph over Pharaoh," whatever that means. Later critics have generally agreed that it represents the accession of Tiberius to the throne, and the apotheosis of Augustus, his predecessor. The stone measures 12¾ by 10¾ inches. It is in three strata; the entire field is covered by the design, and contains twenty-two figures. The

execution is in every respect admirable. Many other engravings in one or other of the varieties of quartz are scattered along the path of history, some of them good, some of them bad, and "when they are good, they are very good, but when they are bad, they are horrid."

Chrysolite Group.

In this group we find Chrysolite, Peridot and Olivine, compounds of magnesia, silica, and iron oxide, with traces of nickel oxide, alumina and manganese oxide. They occur in the lava of volcanoes, and in volcanic rocks the world over. They were much esteemed by the ancients, but the fad died out ages ago, and they are seldom or never seen among the gems of the moderns.

Tourquoise Group.

The name means *Turkish-Stone.* It is a phosphate of alumina, combined with water, and colored by some compound of copper. Some specimens contain also a little of one or more of the following substances, iron oxide, manganese oxide, magnesia, silica. There are several varieties, the average hardness of which is 6. The colors are blue and green, from sky-blue to apple-green, but occasionally tinged with yellow. When it is in very thin sections, turquoise is translucent, otherwise it is opaque.

The Persian, or oriental, turquoise is the most esteemed, being valued four or five times higher than varieties from other parts. A good Persian turquoise, less than an inch in length and thickness, was sold in France for $100, while a European one of the same size went begging for a buyer at $24. Nadir Shah owned a perfect one, two inches long, which he sold to a Russian jeweler for $3750.

Opal Group.

From a purely chemical point of view, this group should have been left under the heading of Quartz, since it is only silica combined with from 2 to 13 per cent. of water. But our classification is in the order of hardness, and while quartz is fully up to 7, opal often gets down to 5.5 and never rises above 6.5; hence the separation. Opal is never transparent; it is usually semi-transparent, sometimes only translucent. It has a peculiar appearance which cannot be described, and which has received the name of "opalescence." From among its numerous varieties we note the following:

1. Precious, or Noble, Opal exhibits, as Pliny says, "various refulgent tints in succession, reflecting now one hue now another." Though called oriental, it has never been found in the East, but used to be taken there from Hungary, its native place, to be brought back with the glamour of the Indies upon it. It seldom exceeds a hazel-nut in size, but there are exceptions. The most celebrated specimen is in the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna. It is 4¾ inches long and 2½ inches thick, and weighs 17 ounces. It is perfectly pure and displays the most magnificent hues. An offer for it of $250,000 was refused, on account of

the uniqueness of the gem. Another one weighing about 5 ounces was valued at $20,000.

2. Fire Opal was first discovered in Mexico by Baron Humboldt. It is nearly opaque, generally red with a yellowish tinge, and strong vitreous lustre, and fire-like reflections. The fire-opal is a magnificent mineral when at its best, but unfortunately it is liable to lose color and become brittle by exposure to light and changes of temperature. The largest specimen known, measuring 6 x 4 inches was presented by Humboldt to the Berlin Museum.

3. Common Opal is semi-transparent with a resinous lustre. In color it is milky, or yellow, brick-red, or olive-green. Owing to its brittleness it is not in demand except for cabinets of minerals.

The Pearl Group.

The beautiful gem called *Pearl*, is found in several kinds of oysters, clams, and mussels from the seas, lakes and rivers of Europe, Asia and America. The Pearl consists of carbonate of lime, interstratified with animal membrane. In hardness it varies from 2.5 to 3.5.

The shells of pearl-bearing mollusks are lined with a hard, lustrous, often iridescent, substance called *nacre*, but better known under the name of "*mother-of-pearl*." Pearls are concretions of this material. In form they are more or less rounded, but often present the most fantastic shapes. Some have been found that might almost be mistaken for graven images of men and beasts.

To account for their formation, several theories have been proposed. Some ascribe it to an excess of carbonate of lime dissolved in the native waters of the shell-fish. Others believe it is due to a diseased condition of the animal, which disease might be styled *pearlitis*, if that were not too barbarous. Some say it is caused by the presence of a sterile egg which the animal failed to get rid of. Others contend that it comes from the intrusion of some foreign body, as a grain of sand, from without.

A thorough examination of a sufficient number of pearls of various shapes and conditions would probably show that no single one of these causes will suffice to explain all cases, but that some of them have been predominant in some circumstances and others in others. Let us suppose then that when the mollusk is taking his breakfast, something indigestible should enter accidentally with his food. After the nourishing portion has been absorbed, that useless portion will remain. The animal will try to eject it, and perhaps may succeed in doing so, and that is the end of the episode. Sometimes however, in spite of his best efforts he may be unable to cough it out. It will then be left between the inner lining of the shell and the *mantle*. The mantle is the sack which envelops the soft body of the mollusk. This membrane is a living, sentient part of the animal, and hence the contact of a foreign body will produce in it some inflammation. Nature now steps in and bids the mantle secrete an extra quantity of nacreous matter with which to cover up and encyst the offending intruder. We know from what takes place in other cases that this extraordinary secretion is just what we ought to

expect. Thus when a grain of sand comes in contact with the ball of the eye, the irritation causes an extra secretion of *whatever the membrane at that point is capable of producing.* In the eye, this is only a watery substance that tends to wash the foreign body out again. In the mollusk the secretion is solid shell material, and this is deposited on the foreign body. When fairly covered the irritation may cease, but the stranger is still there, and as it is always in contact with the *mantle*, it gets its share of all the *nacre* secreted by the latter. Moreover, either through the efforts of the mollusk to get rid of it, or more probably on account of a natural motion of the currents of liquid circulating between the shell and the mantle, the new-born pearl is rolled backwards and forwards, or round about, and hence assumes a rounded, perhaps a perfectly spherical form. This process will be kept up till the death of the animal calls a halt. If however the intruding body should happen to become attached to a point on the shell itself, then it ought to become covered with successive layers of nacre and thus give rise to a knob or wart. Again should a boring parasite pierce the shell from the outside, the mantle would set to work to cover the opening, and build up a fortification of nacre-work against the face of the enemy; and the result would again be a wart. These warts exists frequently, and are called "blister pearls."

Let us see now how this theory squares with the facts. In dissecting pearls some have been found with a tiny nucleus of foreign matter, and this agrees perfectly with what has been said. "Blister pearls" often correspond exactly in position with holes bored into the shell from the outside.

Kuntz relates a case as follows: "The story is told of a New York lady who purchased a button-shaped pearl that had a black, diseased appearance on one side. It was so set that the imperfection was all below the mounting. When applauding at the opera one evening, the pearl was broken, and on examination it was found to consist of a very thin nacreous layer, inside of which was nothing but a hard, white, greasy clay."

In this case the mollusk must have taken in a quantity of sticky mud, and this would naturally be rolled into a ball while being covered with *nacre.*

Occasionally pearls are found hollow. In these cases the original nucleus may have been some organic matter which was, in the course of time, absorbed by the surrounding nacre, and thus a void was left at the center.

It must not be inferred from what has been said that each pearl requires a whole shell-fish for itself. If so, that would constitute a strong argument against our theory, for, in a sandy current, why should just one grain find its way into the shell? This is answered by the fact that the pearl is a social gem, and any number, from one to a hundred or more, are found in single shells. Where they are too numerous, they naturally cannot be large individually. So much for theories and their backbone of facts.

The true pearl-oyster is a native of the Indian and Pacific oceans. It is quite large, being from 6 to 8 inches in diameter, with very thick shells, greenish-black on the outside, and lined on the inside with a *nacre* of silver-white hue, reflecting various colors. This beautiful "mother of pearl," and we have seen that the pearl itself is made of exactly the same material, is extensively used in the manufacture of buttons, and handles for such small instruments as pen-knives; it is however especially well known in inlaid work for the ornamentation of both metallic and wooden surfaces.

The most noted pearl fisheries are in the East, on the coasts of Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and at various points in the Persian Gulf. These localities have furnished immense supplies ever since the dawn of history. In the New World the early discoverers and conquerors found large quantities that had been collected during unknown ages, especially by the natives of Mexico and Peru, the northern coasts of South America and Lower California. Besides this, many of the rivers of North America abound in pearl-bearing mussels, and the Indians of former times used the pearls both as ornaments and as money.

One authority, who insists on laying down the law, says that a pearl, to be considered perfect, must possess the following qualifications:

1. It must be either round or drop-shaped, and as true as if turned in a lathe.

2. It must be of a perfectly pure white color. (This was the dictum in Europe a few years since, but the Chinese and Japanese have always preferred bright yellow, while the latest American craze has turned with wistful eyes to jet black.)

3. It must be slightly transparent.

4. It must be free from specks, spots, and blemishes.

5. It must have, in the highest degree, the peculiar lustre called "pearly."

P.S.—We might add, that it must not be stolen, much less borrowed, but received as a gift, either from a fellow biped, or from the bivalve itself, or else paid for honestly. The value of a pearl depends on its size, and on how nearly it comes up the foregoing standard.

Famous Pearls.

Cleopatra had two pearls which cost her over $400,000 each. To boast that she could mix a drink more costly than any that Antony could offer, she dissolved one of the pearls in vinegar and drank it off in his presence. So goes the story. Many critics have expressed their doubts about the truth of it, but their *a priori* reasons are hardly convincing.

Some say it is *improbable;* but, unless backed up by something stronger than mere opinion, that objection is not worth the ink it took to record it.

Others say it is untrue, because it would require a stronger acid than vinegar, and a larger quantity than any one could take with impunity. This objection shows ignorance of both chemistry and medicine: First

vinegar, which is *acetic acid,* will dissolve carbonate of lime, and pearl is that with a little organic matter. Secondly, the result of that dissolving is acetate of lime, which is not poisonous even in large doses, while the organic matter that would remain undissolved is the same as we take in every time we indulge in oysters on the half-shell.

A third set say that the potion would not be very agreeable. Well, what of that? A large dose of pride and vanity would help to keep down things vastly more disagreeable, and from what we know of the lady in question, we are led to believe that she had a pretty strong stomach any how.

In the time of Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Gresham powdered a pearl, said to be worth $75,000, and drank it in a glass of wine to the health of the Queen, in order to astonish the Spanish ambassador.

Julius Cæsar secured the second of Cleopatra's pearls, and took it to Rome, where later on, Augustus had it sawn in two and used the pieces to adorn the statue of Venus, a fitting disposal of it, considering its former history.

Cæsar had another pearl, which he came by honestly, having bought it for $250,000. This one he presented to Servilia, the sister of Cato.

Pompey found among the treasures of the conquered Mithridates, King of Pontus, several crowns entirely crusted over with pearls, besides a portrait of the king consisting of pearls in mosaic.

The Shah of Persia has a pearl valued at $300,000; and the Imaum of Muscat one for which he refused $150,000; and Pope Leo. X. is said to have adorned his tiara with a pearl for which he paid $100,000.

Philip II. of Spain had a pear-shaped pearl of the size of a pigeon's egg. It came from Panama, and is called "La Peregrina," "The Wanderer." It was valued at $50,000. Harry Emanuel, however, gives that name to one which was bought by Philip IV., and which passed from him to the Princess Youssopoff, of Russia. It weighed 480 grains, or just an ounce troy.

An enormous pear-shaped pearl, which had been brought (stolen) from Berlin by Napoleon I., was shown at the Paris exhibition, in 1855, and a similar one is to be seen among the Royal Treasures of Portugal.

When the Directory took possession of the crown jewels of France, in 1791, they found pearls worth from $200 to $60,000 a piece—the aggregate value of the collection being over $200,000.

Pearl-fishing continues to be a steady business, and the number of pearls, great and small, good and poor, that have been taken from the innocent oyster, the sedate clam, and the pensive mussel, must mount into the millions, while their value is beyond all conjecture.

T. J. A. Freeman, S.J.

Book Notices.

A Memoir of Mother Frances Raphael, O. S. D. (Augusta Theodosia Drane), sometime Prioress, Provincial of the Congregation of Dominican Sisters of St. Catherine of Sienna, Stone, with some of her Spiritual Notes and Letters. Edited by Rev. Father Bertrand Wilberforce, O. P. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895.

The subject of this delightful book needs no introduction to American readers. Her prolific pen has made her known not only to English and American readers, but to those of Italy, France and Germany. Her literary work covers so broad a field that it reaches and interests all classes. Poetry, fiction, history, biography—all found in her a mistress whom they obeyed faithfully. Hence her works are all excellent, and some of them are unexcelled. This is certainly true of her "Christian Schools and Scholars," the "History of St Dominic," and the "History of St. Catherine of Sienna and Her Companions." The last two have been translated and published in German, French and Italian. Beginning in 1850, a few months before she became a Catholic, with a pamphlet entitled "The Morality of Tractarianism," and ending with a paper on "The Imagination," for the Literary Department of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Chicago, 1893, her contributions to literature were continuous.

She died April 29, 1894, and her place in the literary world may remain vacant a long while. It is not the fashion now to write the lives of saints, much less to read them, and least of all to imitate them. The story of an immoral artists' model of Paris is devoured by hundreds of thousands of young women throughout the world, and many of them adorn themselves with emblems of her, while the grand life of God's great Saint Catherine of Sienna is comparatively unknown. The woman who chooses the wiser part in these latter days is worthy of honor, while she who points the way for her weak, ignorant sisters, and goes up by it before them, is worthy of imitation. Such a woman was Augusta Theodosia Drane, and the editor of this memoir places the world under a lasting debt.

The memoir partakes very much of the nature of an autobiography, because it is made up principally of sketches of her life, which the subject wrote for a friend, but which she never intended for publication. The editor has used this material in an admirable manner, allowing the subject to tell her own story as far as possible.

Augusta Theodosia Drane, afterwards called Mother Frances Raphael, was born of Protestant parents at Bromley, in the east of London, on December 28, 1823. Her father was an East India merchant, wealthy and educated. The family consisted of one son and three daughters. They lived a retired life; for Augusta says that except when they went to church or drove to town, the children never set foot outside of the garden wall. The gem of her father's house, in the opinion of his daughter, was the library—a pretty room, with books all round it. Here she early acquired that taste for reading which equipped her so well for the literary labors of after-life.

Many delightful stories are told of the child's life at Bromley, and afterwards in North Wales, where the family resided, and they all help

us to understand the woman better. On a certain occasion, when she was very young, her older sister told her that no one would ever have been saved if Christ had not died. She had never heard this before, and it surprised her very much; indeed, she was not willing to subscribe to the doctrine, and while she conceded the necessity of a Redeemer for Adam and Eve, she claimed that Abraham was able to take care of himself. "No," said her sister, "without our Lord, not even Abraham would have been saved." This was too much for Augusta, and she exclaimed, "I shall never believe that; the rest, if you like, but not Abraham!"

In 1837 the family settled in Devonshire. The Tractarian movement was then in progress, and both the vicar of the church which the family attended, George May Coleridge, and his curate were high churchmen. Miss Drane, under their direction, soon began to have a clearer comprehension of Catholic doctrine, and, to use her own words, she endeavored to work herself into Anglican orthodoxy. Her father did not approve of her High Church tendencies, and this was a source of pain to her. Before even the leaders of the Tractarian movement began to speak of confession, Miss Drane became convinced of the necessity of it, and when, in 1839, Mr. Maskell, who first agitated the question in the Church of England, heard this, he said to her, "Where you got the notion I can't think, but you were eight years in advance of your age."

It is always interesting to know the causes which bring illustrious converts into the Church. It is also very often surprising. Sometimes even converts themselves cannot give a definite answer to this interesting question. But Miss Drane is an exception. "In 1839," she says, "I had read among other things Burnet's 'History of the Reformation.' That book was the real cause of my conversion. I was too young (only sixteen), too little used to follow out my convictions to their logical issue, for the impressions received from its study to produce at the time much practical effect; but, in point of fact, not Burnet's own narrative, but the 'Original Documents' printed in his alternate volumes satisfied me, and would satisfy any one, of the fallacy of any theory which professes to regard the institution of Henry VIII., Cranmer, Edward VI. and Elizabeth as any portion of the Catholic Church. Unawares to myself, a deep sense of its unreality was imbedded in my understanding. I built on it a superficial and rather romantic structure of Anglicanism, made up of daily services and cathedral anthems, high Tory enthusiasm for Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, love of antiquities and church architecture, and intense sensibility to that picturesque view of the English parochial system, whereby souls are held captive in a false system and deprived of the sacraments of grace by the despotism exerted over their imagination by gray church towers hidden in foliage and the sound of evening chimes and the beautiful English Bible and English collects and a thousand other things which they love and worship and cling to and cannot tear from their hearts, and which yet, subjected to that terrible analysis which sooner or later they must undergo, are all but chaff on the summer threshing-floor."

One of the strongest arguments in favor of the sincerity of many distinguished converts is the painfully slow progress which they make towards the Church. This was striking in the case of Cardinal Newman and Cardinal Manning. They held on to the Anglican establishment until dragged from it by the truth, which they unconsciously resisted at every step. This was also true of Miss Drane. In 1839, the light began to dawn upon her; but not until 1850 did it fully illumine her mind. In the meantime, she was

struggling and progressing. In 1847 she became convinced that she ought to confess her sins, and to a Roman Catholic priest, because she wanted absolution, and she did not believe that any one else could give it. A friend persuaded her that she should try an Anglican clergyman first, recommending John Keble, and she gives this amusing description of her experience:

"Keble, I think, was an unsatisfactory director. He was kind, amiable, and his own humble pious character made itself felt in his letters and personal intercourse. But he never laid hands on the soul, or even attempted it, and his directions were always in the way of suggestions. The burning question of confession was at once brought forward, and Keble's direction was amusingly original, if not theological. The way he suggested of settling it was this: 'Write out your general confession and send it to me; then go to church and listen to the *general absolution* with great reverence; and that will do until you can make it in person. Meantime, keep a copy of your confession and read it over on certain more solemn day, Fridays, or even on the greater feasts!'"

The penitent tried this novel method; "but," she says, "I was too much ashamed of the absurdity ever to try it again."

In 1849, she made her confession to Dr. Pusey. "When it was over," she says, "I was as unsatisfied on the respective claims of Rome and England as before; I had as much and as little faith in the English sacraments."

About this time she first came across Rodriguez's "Christian Perfection." It was a wonderful help to her. It made her realize more fully the absence of plain teaching in the High Church party. "The uncertain voice of the trumpet blown by the authorized teachers of the Establishment, brought home to her the lack of the sure foundation of truth."

One day, when she had expressed herself strongly on this subject to Mr. Maskell, the rector of the parish, who soon after became a Catholic, he said to her: "That is strong; now just put all that down on paper—put it as strongly as you can; I will print it." The result was her first publication, a pamphlet of thirty-three pages, entitled "The Morality of Tractarianism." Newman was at that time delivering his lectures on the "Difficulties of Anglicanism," in London, and he quoted from this pamphlet.

She could not much longer resist the tide of truth. On July 1, 1850, she went to the town of Torquay, met Father Fanning, receiving the necessary instructions from him, and on the morning of the 3d, was received into the Church.

Miss Drane's progress towards a religious life kept pace with her progress towards the Catholic Church. Even before she became a Catholic, she had resolved to become a nun, and her former Anglican rector, Mr. Maskell, had recommended to her the Third Order of St. Dominic. On the day of her confirmation at Clifton, she asked the bishop to tell her something about the Third Order of St. Dominic; but he said, "You had better go over to the convent and ask them there." Her own words best tell what followed: "To the convent I went, not knowing it was Dominican. I rang, and the door was opened by a novice in spectacles. She took me into the parlor, and we began to talk. Presently, I brought out my question. 'I suppose you know that we are the Third Order of St Dominic,' she replied. I felt overwhelmed; it was like meeting one's fate."

This novice, the first member of the Order that she met, was Sister

Mary Imelda Poole, afterwards her own Novice-Mistress; later, Mother Provincial, and throughout her life, her dearest friend.

Miss Drane joined the community in 1852, and remained a member of it until her death, April 29, 1894. During that long period, she occupied successively every position of trust; at the time of her death, and for years before, discharging the office of Mother Provincial.

She was an untiring worker, as her many important publications prove. She wrote very rapidly, but not carelessly, for she spent twenty-four years in preparing her work on St. Catherine of Sienna for the press. Indeed, so varied were her accomplishments and occupations, that Bishop Ullathorne described her as "one of those many-sided characters who can write a book, draw a picture, rule an Order, guide other souls, superintend a building, lay out grounds, or give wise and practical advice, with equal facility and success."

Like most truly pious persons Mother Frances Raphael had a keen sense of the humorous, which made the recreations very pleasant when she was in the house. It frequently showed itself in her letters. For instance at the close of one she writes: "Timothy (the cat) overcame himself to-day. He always goes to see the fish unpacked, and knows the fish days like an almanac. To-day he was left alone with the fish, and instead of walking off with one, he was found sitting with his back to the temptations, turning away his eyes from the iniquity. He was rewarded with a tail."

This book contains some beautiful glimpses of Cardinal Newman, and some of his charming letters, not before published. When his dear friend Father Ambrose St. John died, in answer to an expression of sympathy from Mother Frances Raphael, he wrote:

"Thank you for your letter so full of sympathy. Every one who is not cut off himself has to bear to have his friends cut off from him, for scarcely any two lives are synchronic, or end together. It has been a great shock, but, thank God, not for an instant have I been unable to recognize it as a great mercy. But I do not expect ever to recover from it; and that I do believe to be the intention of it on the part of our loving Lord; it is the infliction in love of a wound that will never close. You are one of those, who from the number of years you have known me, can estimate what my loss is." When Mother Provincial Imelda died, the Cardinal wrote:

"Yesterday I heard from Sister Mary Gabriel of your immense trial. But He who is immensity itself will enable you to bear it, and will turn it to good, and while your hearts are torn, you will feel (I speak from experience), that you would not have it otherwise."

Soon afterwards, he visited the convent, and asked to be taken to the choir, that he might pray by the graves of Mother Margaret and Mother Imelda. "Dr. Northcote, another sister and myself accompanied him," writes Mother Frances Raphael. "He knelt by the two graves for some time in silent prayer, and we all knelt with him. There was a most wonderful hush and silence all the time; no sound indoors or out, but a profound stillness. It was a dull gray day, but as we still knelt there one clear bright ray of sunshine suddenly darted through the casement and fell directly on dear Mother Imelda's grave. The effect of that silence and that ray of light was something impossible to describe. The Cardinal said as he returned through the cloister: 'I would not have missed that for worlds.'"

In 1893 Mother Frances Raphael wrote that she was using Cardinal Newman's book of meditations, and found that it exactly suited her spiritual needs.

The biography proper is followed by a hundred and seventy pages of "Thoughts Suggested by Certain Scripture Texts." It is really a collection of homilies and meditations by Mother Frances Raphael on scenes in the life of Christ and on certain feasts. These are followed by a large collection of extracts from her private correspondence. Altogether, it is one of the most interesting books that has appeared in a long time. The mechanical work is in keeping with the subject-matter. The paper, the press-work, the binding—all are in the best of taste.

J. P. T.

ACADIA: MISSING LINKS OF A LOST CHAPTER IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Edouard Richard*, an Acadian, and Ex-Member of the House of Commons of Canada. 2 vols., 8vo., cloth and paper, pp. 776. New York: Home Book Co.

Some time in the forties, Rev. H. L. Conolly gave to Hawthorne a theme for a romance, to which the novelist thus refers in his "American Note Books:"

"H. L. C. heard from a French Canadian a story of a young couple in Acadia. On their marriage-day all the men of the Province were summoned to assemble in the church to hear a proclamation. When assembled, they were all seized and shipped off to be distributed through New England—among them the new bridegroom. His bride set off in search of him—wandered about New England all her lifetime, and at last, when she was old, she found her bridegroom on his death-bed. The shock was so great that it killed her likewise."

Hawthorne was disinclined to found a story on this incident. One day when he and Mr. Conolly were dining with Longfellow, the clergyman repeated the story, and the poet at once said to the novelist: "If you really do not want this incident for a tale, let me have it for a poem." Permission was gladly given, and soon afterwards the idyl in hexameters was begun, which finally appeared complete in October, 1847, under the name of "Evangeline."

Mr. Hawthorne said of it: "I have read it with more pleasure than it would be decorous to express." Dr. Holmes in referring to it wrote: "Of the longer poems of our chief singer, I should not hesitate to select 'Evangeline' as the masterpiece." And of the many thousands who have read the sad, sweet story during the half century since it was first penned, and who have been moved to tears by the touching recital of the brutal separation of Gabriel and Evangeline, their cruel banishment, their weary wanderings, their painful meeting, and their untimely death, not one will be found to question the verdict of Hawthorne and Holmes.

"Evangeline" gave a new impetus to the study of Acadian history. At the time of its publication the actual history of the deportation of the Acadians had scarcely been investigated. The editor of the beautiful edition of Longfellow's complete works, which Houghton, Mifflin & Co., published in fourteen volumes in 1886, writes: "It is not too much to say that this tale was itself the cause of the frequent studies since made, studies which have resulted in a revision of the accepted rendering of the facts."

The poet used the accessible authorities of the times from which to glean his history. He was altogether unbiassed, and although he did not aim at that precise accuracy which should mark the work of the true historian, he could have no reason for distorting facts; nor could he be accused of rashness who would prefer the poet's simple, true story to the so-called historian's distorted record.

The poet carries us back and away to the Acadian land, and brings

us into close contact with the Normandy peasants, so that we share their joys and sorrows. "This is the forest primeval," he says, and as he speaks we seem to hear the "murmuring pines and the hemlocks," while their forms "bearded with moss, and in garments green," rise up before us.

What a beautiful picture he presents to us of the happy village, lying in the peaceful valley, surrounded by rich meadows, with the setting sun tinting the thatch of the Norman roofed cottage, while the maids and matrons, in their snow-white caps and kirtles of scarlet, blue and green, spin the golden flax, and smile on their husbands or sweethearts as they pass with the milk-laden herds. How touching the picture he draws of the village church, where the peasants assemble to hear the word of God from their venerable curé, to assist at the great sacrifice, and to receive the sacraments. Their voices are joined in prayer and chant to sound the praises of their Father in heaven. That their worship was not a mockery we know from the sinlessness of their lives, and their patient submission to the most cruel persecutions.

The story of the marriage of Gabriel and Evangeline is the story of a people who feared and loved God. The harrowing account of the driving out of these simple God-fearing peasants from their homes, their possessions, their country, to be separated and scattered up and down the Atlantic coast, without a moment's warning, and never again to be united, is a chapter in history that any country should be ashamed to have written and read.

Mr. Longfellow hardly realized the important bearing his poem would have on the final history of the Acadians. He certainly did not intend to write history in the serious acceptation of that word, and yet his work has been the means of drawing the attention of the world to Acadia, and of inducing others to inquire into its true history. Since the poet penned his lines, Acadian history has assumed a new importance. In 1869 the government of Nova Scotia published "Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia," edited by Thomas B. Akins, D.C.L., Commissioner of Public Records. In 1866 Beamish Murdock published the "History of Nova Scotia, or Acadie." In 1879 appeared "The History of Acadia, from its First Discovery to its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris," from the pen of James Hammay.

But the publication which attracted most attention to Acadian history, at least in this country, was Francis Parkman's work entitled "Montcalm and Wolf," which came from the press in 1885, and which devotes several chapters to the French settlers of Canada. Mr. Parkman's account of the Acadians robs Mr. Longfellow's poem of all pretensions to historical truthfulness, for he pictures them, as dirty, untidy, ignorant, for the most part idle, unskilful, rebellious against lawful authority, treacherous, and entirely under the influence of cruel, unscrupulous priests. He excuses the English government and its agents for driving them from their homes, and denies that families were torn apart, never again to be united. Now Mr. Parkman has quite a reputation for learning, and his standing as an historian is very high indeed. He certainly seemed to go about his work in the right way. He devoted his whole time to it; he visited the scenes of his histories; and he spared no pains to consult all kinds of documents bearing in any way on his subject.

While, then, lovers of Mr. Longfellow's poem were shocked when it was robbed of all its romance, no one was found bold enough even to hint, that perhaps Mr. Parkman was mistaken. No doubt many would

liked to have said it, and perhaps many thought it, but openly to contradict so great a historian as Francis Parkman, required greater courage than merely to think or to wish.

But now a wonderful thing has happened. Honorable Edward Richard, a great grandson of transported Acadians, has written a history of his people, and he has dared to contradict Parkman. Nay, more, he unqualifiedly accuses him of falsifying history. These are the very words:

"When I might have called in question the sincerity of several historians, I refrained from doing so; nay, I have sometimes been so indulgent as to suppose, against my plain convictions, honorable intentions, on the principle that it was better to sin by excess of silence and mercy rather than by too great severity. But, when brought face to face with systematic attempts, unmistakable and continually renewed, *to falsify history*, I have thought that silence became a fault, and the finger of scorn must be laid on these dishonest practices, and on those who perpetrated them with malice prepense. The exception I have just hinted at bears on the compiler of the volume of Archives of Nova Scotia and on Mr. Parkman. Regretfully do I say this, but the evidence leaves no possibility of doubt."

Again he says: "Of late years history has been enriched by an exceedingly precious collection of documents, which throw a flood of light on the very darkest part of the period. It is really unfortunate that men like Murdock and Hammay, who seem to have been sincere, had not access to this collection. As to Parkman, I have the positive proof that he knew of it, but chose to ignore it."

Of course Mr. Richard does not stop with this mere assertion. This is but introductory, and throughout his two large volumes, the author believes that he has proved his assertion. Friends of Mr. Parkman might say, that Mr. Richard took care not to make this charge while the former was living; but the latest historian of the Acadians anticipates this defence by declaring that he was engaged on his work when Mr. Parkman died, that he hoped to have finished it in time for that gentleman's perusal, and that he is most anxious that some one will take up the defence of Mr. Parkman.

It is refreshing to find that Mr. Richard's researches, backed by family traditions, have taught him that the Acadians of "Evangeline," were the Acadians of history. He pictures them as simple, honest, clean, thrifty, pious and faithful. He finds that the cause of their deportation was, "the refusal to take the oath of allegiance (to England) unless it were stipulated that they should not bear arms against the French"; and "that never, at any time, did the people dwelling in the peninsula on English territory, take up or even threaten to take up arms."

It seems strange that two historians like Mr. Parkman and Mr. Richard, who consulted the same authorities, and had access to the same documents should differ so widely in their conclusions, but Mr. Richard has offered us the explanation.

This voluminous collection is due to the Rev. Andrew Brown, Presbyterian minister, who died at Edinburgh, when he was Professor of Rhetoric in the University. While living at Halifax, from 1787 to 1795, he collected materials with the intention of writing a history of Nova Scotia. This history, incomplete and in manuscript, was found with all the original and other documents that accompanied it, in a grocer's shop, and bought November 13, 1852, by Mr. Grosart, who sold it to the British Museum in London. Some years ago it was copied in whole or in part, by the Historical Society of Halifax, in

whose archives it is now. "I am particularly indebted to this collection. . . . . The importance of this MS. is obvious. An historian was needed who should be a closer contemporary of the obscure period than Haliburton. This want is now supplied, and all the more effectually because Brown's position and character would satisfy the most fastidious critic."

Mr. Brown is certainly a strong witness for the Acadians, for no one would be foolish enough to accuse a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman of favoring French Catholics against the English government.

However the fair-minded reader may decide the question, he cannot afford to ignore this last history of the Acadians. Mr. Richard is a gentleman well qualified in every way for a work of this kind. He has consulted all authorities hitherto known and quoted, and he has brought forward a new one who is certainly not the least important. He contradicts so generally accepted an author as Francis Parkman, and accuses him of twisting and suppressing facts. He brings forward such a mass of evidence to substantiate his assertions and charges, that no one, who wishes to learn the true history of the Acadians, can pass by this sadly interesting work. J. P. T.

Outlines of Dogmatic Theology. By *Sylvester Joseph Hunter, S.J.* 12mo. Vols. I. and II., pp. 525 and 596. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The question has been frequently asked by educators, "What shall we place in the hands of advanced students to supplement the catechism?" In these days of general education, and co-education, and no-education, there is more need than ever for vigilance on the part of educators. Catholic young men and women who attend Catholic high schools and colleges, must be better equipped than ever to defend their faith and preserve it. There was a time, when a knowledge of the little paper-covered catechism was thought sufficient; but that time is past. Now, the Evil Spirit of infidelity is abroad, and his weapons are so numerous, that he who would grapple with him must be armed at all points.

The condition of things in secular institutions of learning proves most conclusively the necessity of religious instruction in a good system of education. If man is a responsible being, with a future eternal existence before him; if God exists and rewards and punishes; if He has revealed Himself to man, it is most important for man to learn these truths as early, as effectually as possible, and never to forget them. It may be possible to learn them rightly outside of school, but in practice experience shows that it is impossible. If Protestants will not recognize this plain truth, Catholics must acknowledge it.

Now we come to Father Hunter's book. Because of the absence of religious instruction in secular schools, colleges and universities, the necessity for it in Catholic institutions of learning becomes more urgent and exacting. The assertion of St. Peter, that a man should be able to give a reason for the faith that is within him, was always true, but never truer than now. If we wish to preserve our faith, we must be able to defend it; for it is attacked on all sides, and all sciences are supposed to be its enemies. Trained theologians laugh at these attacks, because they know every weapon in the enemies' armory; they know that the weapons used at the present time are the same that have been used unsuccessfully on many other occasions, and they do not fear instruments of war that have been broken and cast aside, even though some novice should have rubbed the rust off them and repointed them. The Church's

system of Dogmatic Theology is invulnerable. If we could only place this shield in the hands of our young people! This, Father Hunter has done. Heretofore, the system was so intricate, so deep, so inaccessible, that years of study were required to master it, and only professional men—generally priests—accomplished the feat. But now all that is changed. Father Hunter has translated "Catholic Dogmatic Theology" into English. He has stripped it, as far as possible, of technical terminology; he has discarded the usual dry enumeration of definitions and proofs which generally characterize such works, and substituted in its place an easy, attractive style that draws the student on, instead of repelling him, and he has accomplished all this in three handy 12mo. volumes, which are sold at a very reasonable figure.

This book should be introduced with the "Manuals of Philosophy" that have preceded it, and that prepare the way for it, into Catholic high schools and colleges for boys and girls. With the assistance of a good teacher, pupils of sixteen years of age could use it with profit. It would help very much students who are beginning the study of theology in seminaries, because it aids them to understand quickly the connection of the different parts of theology and the system as a whole. It should be in the library of every educated Catholic, because the best way to answer the many questions asked about our faith, and to refute the objections made against it, is to draw upon the authoritative teaching of the Church which is contained in her Dogmatic Theology.

Analysis of the Eutropius, a Greek Drama, presented by the Class of Ninety-six, Holy Cross College, June 20, 1895. Worcester: Harrigan & King, Printers.

In this pretty 8vo. of one hundred pages, we have a class-book that any college might well be proud of. It contains a synopsis of the Greek play produced by the class, with a metrical translation of some striking passages, and a collection of verses made by the students on various occasions. The text is adorned with pictures of the most striking scenes in the play, and the verses are accompanied with pictures of the members of the class. The whole work is in excellent taste both as to matter and manner, and while the book may be interesting only, or principally, to the students and their friends, we think it worthy of public attention.

Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics. By *Joseph Gillow*. Vol. IV. Burns & Oates. Received from Benziger Bsos.

The fourth volume of this valuable Dictionary contains the lives of distinguished English Catholics since the "breach with Rome," beginning with the Dominican Father Kemys, and ending with the Jesuit Father Metham. In addition to the narrative of the actions of his heroes, the learned author is careful to note their literary labors, whether printed or manuscript. The work displays vast erudition, and awakens the longing that some one should arise to perform a similar service in rescuing the names of American Catholics from oblivion. The most prominent personages treated of in the present volume are Dr. Lingard and Cardinal Manning, to whose transcendent merits in their different spheres of activity a fitting tribute is paid. We have also read with interest the information given concerning Fredrick Lucas and Thomas William Marshall.

We shall look forward with eagerness to the "fifth and concluding volume," which the publishers promise us for the early autumn of this

year, though we fail to comprehend how the names from *M* to *Z* can be compressed into a single volume, if the end of the work is to correspond to the part already perfected. It is generally unfortunate for a person who is to figure in a biographical dictionary to inherit a name beginning with a tardy initial, since authors, as a rule, grow weary after the first half of their task has been accomplished. We shall be glad if we read, when the fifth volume appears, that "the author has found it impossible to condense the matter crowding upon him within the limits of a single volume."

RITUALE ROMANUM. Editio Quarta post Typicam: Ratisbon and New York: Pustet. 1895.

An admirable working edition of the Ritual in small octavo, containing everything that is found in the larger edition, and thirty pages in the appendix, in English and German, concerning the celebration of the marriage rite, the reception of converts, and the mode of assisting the dying.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Original Sources. From the German of *Dr. Ludwig Pastor*, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck. Edited by Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, of the Oratory. Vols. III.–IV. London: Kegan, Paul, French, Trübner & Co. Received from Benziger Brothers.

THE JEWISH RACE IN ANCIENT AND ROMAN HISTORY. From the Eleventh Revised Edition of *A. Rendu, LL.D.* Translated by Theresa Crook. London: Burns & Oates. Received from Benziger Brothers. Price, $2.25.

THE IROQUOIS AND THE JESUITS. The Story of the Labors of Catholic Missionaries Among these Indians. By *Rev. Thomas Donohoe, D.D.* Buffalo, N. Y.: Buffalo Catholic Publication Co. 1895.

DIVINE LOVE, AND THE LOVE OF GOD'S MOST BLESSED MOTHER. By *Right Rev. F. J. Weld*, Protonotary Apostolic. 12mo., boards, pp. 575. Received from Benziger Bros.: New York.

MUSTER DES PREDIGERS. Eine Auswahl rednerischer Beispiele aus dem homiletischen Schätze aller Jahrhunderte. Von *Nikolaus Schleiniger, S.J.* Herder 1895. Price, $2.85.

GESCHICHTE DES BREVIERS. Von *P. Suitbert Bäumer, O.S.B.* Herder. 1895. Price, $2.85.

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